

*Alden 1875 J.*

19

15



*William Robert Reid*

*Obit 25. 4. 18. 51*



*De Thom*

*Guilhelmus Linnings*

*Anno Domini 1705*

L. C. 498.

*Parier*

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E Logijn in hant libellum.

Comp: 14. oct. 1673.

Woe, Breijndijm, Anten, & wijdorjebis

Qua nob jmblybjanis, sint documenta  
Amjor  
Ujrin.

Sint notimenta Ujrin.

Woe (edraan, Cnblom, jutoro).

Breijndijw) Doe oft mijstoad te 23082  
Come woad te 23006 abstraltje fra sich  
thinge,

Woe woadenw 23jstopt, Suro? & gonow  
Kingo,

Woe te mabo in Doctrinally spijhual,  
Woe te Stimble at obije doctont xjhuall,

Woe Wyoth Wuth. &c. 4.  
as many hms we find.

Wuth lams Wyod  
Woe may will change over mynd,

Woeantabit Rob. Richardso



Empty 3. Shelli pte:  
Haji vs. 1678.

Re Robt. Dyer & Co  
Munich House

~~The Master of the Ship~~  
~~Ship~~

Received of the said Robt. Dyer & Co  
the sum of one hundred pounds  
for the hire of the said Ship  
for the purpose of the said  
contract made between the said  
Robt. Dyer & Co and the said  
Master of the Ship  
on the 1st day of January 1778  
and the said sum of one hundred  
pounds is hereby acknowledged  
to be the full and complete  
payment of the said hire  
and the said Robt. Dyer & Co  
do hereby release the said Master  
of the Ship from all and singular  
the said obligations and liabilities  
in and to the said Ship  
and the said Robt. Dyer & Co  
do hereby certify that the said  
sum of one hundred pounds  
has been received by them  
for the said hire of the said Ship  
and the said Robt. Dyer & Co  
do hereby certify that the said  
sum of one hundred pounds  
has been received by them  
for the said hire of the said Ship

*[Handwritten signature]*

Quicquid agas prudenter agas et Respice finem

O  
Omnia mecum mecum porta



A  
**VINDICATION**  
OF THE AUTHORITY,  
CONSTITUTION, AND LAWS  
OF THE CHURCH AND STATE  
OF SCOTLAND.

IN FOUR CONFERENCES.

Wherein the Answer to the Dialogues betwixt  
the Conformist and the Non-con-  
formist, is examined.

By **GILBERT BURNET**, Professor of  
*Theologie in Glasgow.*



**GLASGOW,**  
By **ROBERT SANDERS**, Printer to  
the City, and University, 1673.

NATIONAL LIBRARY  
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TO HIS GRACE  
THE DUKE OF  
**LAUDERDALE,** &c.  
HIS MAJESTIES HIGH  
COMMISSIONER FOR  
SCOTLAND.



AT IT PLEASE  
YOUR GRACE.

*The noble Character which you do now so worthily  
bear, together with the more lasting and inward*



## The Epistle Dedicatory.

*Characters of Your Princely mind, did set me beyond doubting to whom this adreß was to be made: For to whom is a vindication of the Authority and Laws of this Kingdom so due; as to Your Grace, to whom His Majesty hath by a Royal Delegation, committed the administration of Affairs among us; and under whose wise and happy conduct, we have enjoyed so long a tract of uninterrupted tranquility? But it is not only Your illustrious quality that entitles you to this Dedication. No, Great Prince, greater in Your mind, then by Your fortune; there is somewhat more inward to You, then the gifts of fortune; which, as it proves her not blind in this instance, so commands all the respect can be payed Your Grace, by such who are honored with so much knowledge of You, as hath fallen to the happy share of Your poorest servant.*

*But, My Lord, since all I can say either of the vast endowments of Your mind, or of the particular engagements I ly under to honor You, must needs fall short of my sense of both; and what is just to be said, is not fit for me to expreß; the least appearances of flattery being as unpleasant to You, as unbecoming*  
*one*



## The Epistle Dedicatory.

one of my Station: I must quite this Theme, which is too great for me to manage; and only add, that I know Your understanding, in such debates as are here managed, to be so profound, and Your judgement so well ballanced, that as You deservedly pass for a Master in all learning; so, if these sheets be so happy as to be well accounted of by You, I shal the less value or apprehend the snarlings of all Censurers. I pretend not by prefixing so great a Name to these Conferences, to be secure from censure by Your Patrociny, since these enemies of all Order and Authority (with whom I deal) will rather be provoked from that, to lash me with the more severity.

I shal not to this add my poor thoughts of what this time and the tempers of those with whom we deal, seems to call for, since by so doing, I should become more ridiculous then Phormio was, when he entertained the redoubted Hannibal, with a pedantick discourse of a Generals conduct. It is from Your Graces deep judgement and great experience, that we all expect and long for a happy settlement, wherein

The Epistle Dedicatory.

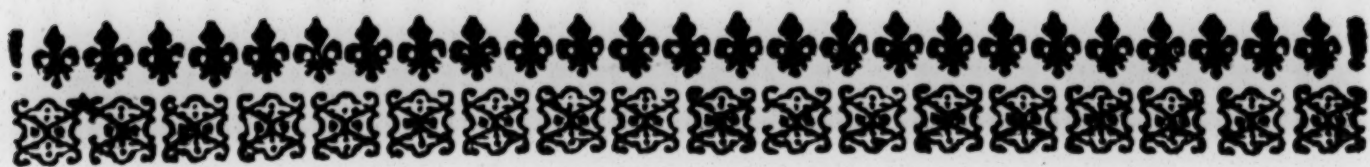
*that success and blessings may attend Your endeavors,  
shal be prayed for more earnestly by none alive,  
then by,*

May it please YOUR GRACE,

Your Graces most humble,  
most faithful, and most  
obliged servant,

G. BURNET.





## TO THE READER.



OW sad, but how full a Commentary doth the age we live in, give on these words of our Lord? *Luke 12. 49. I am come to send fire on the earth: suppose you that I am come to give peace on the earth; I tell you, nay; but rather division: for from henceforth there shall be five in one house divided.* Do we not see the father divided against the son, and the son against the father, and engaging into such angry heats and mortal feuds, upon colors of Religion, as if the seed of the Word of GOD, like *Cadmus* teeth, had spawned a generation of cruel and blood-thirsty men? But how surprising is the wonder, when Religion becomes the pretence, and seems to give the rise to these animosities, since the wisdom and goodness of GOD hath devised nothing more proper and powerful for over-ruling all the secret passions of the mind,



*To the Reader.*

and for mortifying of all boisterous disorders? The doctrine delivered by our meek and lowly Master, teacheth us the great lessons of humility, of self-diffidence, and self-contempt, guards against the undervaluing of others, and the over-rating of our selves, gives check to wrath, anger, emulation and envy, hatred and malice, railing and censuring: And in a word, designs the moulding our natures into a conformity with its blessed Author; who when he was reviled, reviled not again; but practised without a blemish, those great lessons he taught his disciples, of doing good for evil, loving his enemies, and praying for such as despitefully used him. But how far have we fallen from that lovely Pattern? And how is the serene and peaceable visage of Christianity transformed into a fowr cankered and surly temper, as if that which obliged us to love all men, should engage us to look morose on all but a handful of a party: and that which should dilate our love to all mankind, is given for a ground of contracting it to a few as ill natured as our selves?

Is there not a generation among us who highly value themselves, & all of their own form; but whoso differs from them, is sure of their fiercest spite, and bitterest censures? Are the lives of such as differ from them vertuous, then they say they are good moral men: But, alace! they know



*To the Reader.*

know not what it is to be spiritual, Again, are they devout and grave, then they are called Monastick people, Juglers, or Papists. And if nothing can be fastened on them, the charge of hypocrisie is the last shift of malice: Or if they have been guilty of any failings and mistakes, they are so far from covering or disguising of them; that on the contrary, the relating, the aggravating, and the commenting on these, is the main subject of all their discourses. And if they go on a visit, the first civilities are scarce over, when these Stories (true or false, all is to one purpose) come to make up their conversation. Who can have the least tincture of the Christian Spirit, and look on without sad regrades, and see this bitter, fierce, and cruel venom poysoning the several *Seets* and divisions of Christendom? The root and spring whereof is no other then a carnal, proud, and unmortified temper: for few are so Atheistical, but they desire to pass, both in their own account, and in the opinion of others, for good Christians: but when they find how hard a thing it is to be a Christian indeed, and that they must mortifie all their carnal appetits, their fierce passions, and swellings of pride, despise the world, and be resigned in all things to the will of GOD, before they can deserve that noble Character, then they pursue another method more grateful to their corrupt



*To the Reader.*

corrupt minds, which is to list themselves under a party, to cherish and value the Heads and Leaders of it, and to divide their kindness to all of their stamp: they stily adhere to the formes, and maintain all the humors and opinions of that party to which they have associated themselves, and they whet their spirits and sharpen their tongues against all of another mould, which some do with an undisguised fierceness: Others with a visage of more gravity, by which they give the deeper wounds. What sad effects flow from this spirit is too visible; and I love not to play the Diviner, or to presage all the mischief it threatens: but certain it is that the great business of Religion lyes under an universal neglect, while every one looks more abroad on his neighbor, then inwardly on himself; and all study more the advancement of a party, then the true interest of Religion.

I deny not but zeal for GOD must appear, when we see indignities done to his holy Name, in a just indignation at these who so dishonor him; but what relation have little smal differences about matters which have no tendency for advancing the Image of GOD in our souls, to that; since both sides of the debate may be well maintained without the least indignity done to GOD, or his holy Gospel? What oppo-



*To the Reader.*

opposition to the will of GOD, or what harm to souls can flow from so innocent a practise, as the fixing some Church-men over others, for observing, directing, reprov- ing, and coercing of the rest, that this should occasion such endless brawlings, and such hot contentions? But suppose the grounds of our divisions, as great as any angry disputer can imagine them, then certainly our zeal for them should be tempered, according to the rules and Spirit of the Gospel. Is it a Christian temper that our spirits should boil with rage against all of another persuasion, so that we cannot think of them without secret commotions of anger and disdain, which breaks often out into sour looks, ridiculous jearings, bitter scoffings and invectives, and in attempts at blood and cruelty? How long shal our *Nadabs* and *Abihus* burn this wild-fire on the Altar of GOD, whose flames should be peaceful, and such as descend from heaven? When we see any endangering their souls by erroneous opinions, or bad practises, had we the divine Spirit in us, it would set us to our secret mournings for them: our hearts would melt in compassion towards them, and not burn in rage against them: and we would attempt for their recovery, and not contrive their ruine. The one bears on it a clear impress of that nature which is Love, in  
which



*To the Reader.*

which none can have interest, or union, but such as dwell and abide in Love: but the other bears on it the lively signature of him that was a murderer from the beginning: and all that is mischievous or cruel, is of that evil one, and tends to the subversion of mankind, as well as the ruine of true Religion.

Another great rule by which the peace and order of all humane Societies is maintained and advanced, is obedience to the Laws, and submission to the Authority of these whom GOD hath set over us, to govern and defend us; to whose commands if absolute obedience be not payed, ever till they contradict the Laws of GOD, there can be neither peace nor order among men, as long as every one prefers his own humor or inclination to the Laws of the Society in which he lives. Now it cannot be denied to be one of the sins of the age we live in, that small regard is had to that authority GOD hath committed to his Vicegerents on earth: The evidence whereof is palpable, since the bending or slackening of the execution of Laws is made the measure of most mens obedience, and not the conscience of that duty we owe the commands of our Rulers: for what is more servile and unbecoming a man, not to say a Christian, then to yeeld obedience when overawed by force; and to leap from it when allured by



*To the Reader.*

by gentler methods? If Generosity were our principle, we should be sooner vanquished by the one, then cudgelled by the other: Or if Conscience acted us, the obligation of the Law would equally bind, whither backed with a strict execution, or slackened into more impunity. Hence it appears how few there are who judge themselves bound to pay that reverence to the Persons, and that obedience to the Commands of these GOD hath vested with his Authority, which the laws of Nature and Religion do exact. And the root of all this disobedience and contempt, can be no other, but unruly and ungoverned pride, which disdains to submit to others, and exalts itself above these who are called Gods. The humble are tractable and obedient; but the self-willed are stubborn and rebellious. Yet the hight of many mens' pride rests not in a bare disobedience, but designs the subverting of Thrones, and the shaking of Kingdoms, unless governed by their own measures.

Among all the Heresies this age hath spawned, there is not one more contrary to the whole design of Religion, and more destructive of mankind, then is that bloody opinion of defending Religion by armes, and of forcible resistance upon the colour of preserving Religion. The wisdom of that Policy is earthly, sensual  
and



*To the Reader.*

and devilish, favoring of a carnal unmortified and impatient mind, that cannot bear the cross, nor trust to the Providence of G O D: and yet with how much zeal is this doctrine maintained and propagated, as if on it hung both the Law and the Prophets? Neither is the zeal used for its defence only meant for the vindicating of what is past, but on purpose advanced for reacting the same Tragedies: which some late villanous attempts have too clearly discovered, some of these black Arts (though written in white) being by a happy providence of G O D (by the intercepting of *R. Mac* his letters which contained not a few of their rebellious practisings and designs) brought to light.

Indeed the consideration of these evils should call on all to reflect on the sad posture wherein we are, and the evident signatures of the Divine displeasure under which we ly: from which it appears that G O D hath no pleasure in us, nor will be glorified among us: that so we may discern the *signs of the times*, and by all these sad indications may begin to apprehend our danger, and so turn to G O D with our whole hearts; every one repenting of the works of his hands, and contributing his prayers and endeavors for a more general Reformation. It is not by Political Arts, nor by the execution of penal Laws, that the power of Religion can be recovered



*To the Reader.*

vered from these decays, under which it hath so long suffered. No, no, we must consider wherein we have provoked G O D to chastise us in this fashion, by letting loose among us a spirit of uncharitableness, giddiness, cruelty and sedition: And the progress of these and other great evils, we ought to charge on our own faultiness, who have provoked G O D to plead a controverſie with us in ſo ſevere a manner. This is the method we ought to follow, which if we did, we might ſooner look for the Divine protection and aſſiſtance: and then we ſhould experience it to be better to put our confidence in G O D, then to put our confidence in men.

Indeed ſuch a Reformation of our lives and hearts, would more ſtrongly plead our cauſe, and advance our intereſt, then the moſt learned Diſputes, or the ſevereſt Laws, though followed with a moſt vigorous execution: Let us not therefore repine at the contempt we ly under, or the hazard we are expoſed to; nor complain of the non-execution of Laws; but let us examine wherein we have walked contrary to the Laws of C H R I S T in his Goſpel, by which we have provoked G O D to render us baſe and contemptible before the people. In a word, till we condemn our ſelves more, and others leſs, and think more of reforming our ſelves, and leſs of puniſhing others, we look not like proper  
objects



*To the Reader.*

objects of mercy, or fit for a deliverance.

But I shal quite this purpose to give some account of the following Conferences. Some years ago, a smal *Book of Dialogues betwixt the Conformist and Nonconformist* was published, and received with the general applause and good liking of all, who were so far unprepossest as to consider the plain and simple reasonings were there laid open; but presently all the mouthes of the enraged Zealots were set a yelping and snarling at it, and at its suspected Author: some laughed at it, others despised it, and all of them were angry: some threatned a speedy answer, others doubting of the performance, said, it deserved none. At length diverse pens were said to have undertaken the Task; but in end we had an answer from *beyond Sea* to it, which was received with an universal shout of victory and triumph: the Answerer acting his part with so much confidence, and edging his smatterings with so much bitterness, as if he had engaged with a compound of Ignorance and Atheism. At first reading I could not but pity one who triumphed so confidently with so little reason, and regrave the bitterness of his spirit, who belched up gall and wormwood upon every occasion. Yet in some matters of fact and History, I deny not but his confidence made me imagine truth might be on his side; but when I examined things

things



*To the Reader.*

things from their fountains, I knew not what verdict to pass on him, who fell in so many mistakes, and stumbled at every step. Most of his errors I imputed to his second hand reading, for he seems to have risen no higher in his learning than the reading of *Pamphlets*; and it is like, hath that quarrel with *Antiquary*; that *Antiquary* is not a forty year old Author in his Closet; and so much is he beholden to the labors of others, that if one unplume him of what is borrowed, nothing will remain but scoldings & non-sense. For when he meets with any thing out of the *Road*, it is not unpleasant to see how browlled he is; and so unequal is his style, that sometimes he flies high on borrowed wings, and immediately he halts and crawls when on his own legs. I was not soon resolved whether such a *Sonnet* deserved an Answer, since all he said that was material, had both been printed and answered full often; yet the confidence of the Author, and the value which others, much about his own sense of knowledge and modesty, did set on his labors, made me think it necessary to say a little more on these things, which were perhaps too overly glanced at by the *Conformist* in the *Dialogue*; and my interest in that Person secured me from apprehending his mistakes of my interposing in this quarrel; for indeed what he said was so far from being shaken by this pretended trifling

B

Answer,



To the Reader.

Answer, that as a Person of great judgement and worth said, No more pains was needful for refuting the Answer, but the reading over the Dialogues, whose strength remained entire after all his attempts against them.

I was doubtful what method to pursue in the following sheets, since I ever loathed the answering of Books by retail, as an endless and worthless labor: for when should I have done, did I call him to account for all his incoherencies and impermanencies, and examine all his smugging distinctions, and whiffling answers? I resolved therefore at one dash to wave all that, and to examine the matters of greater and more publick concern, with that clearness of expression which befits such subjects, and with so much brevity, as might not frighten away the more superficial Readers, nor surfeit the more laborious. Therefore I have not stayed to make good all the Conformists opinions or arguments, hinted in these short Dialogues, but have left the examining of them, and the Answers made to them, to the consideration of the unprejudged Reader, and so have considered nothing of what he answers to the fifth and sixth Dialogues. To the fifth Dialogue, wherein set forms for worship are pleaded for, he answers by confessing their lawfulness, arguing only against the imposing them; but this I meet with in my  
second



*To the Reader.*

second *Conference*, wherein I assert the binding authority of Laws in all things lawful. And for his Answers to the sixth *Dialogue*, they concern me not, being made up of reflections: It is true, to show his Common place reading, he gives a long discourse of Justification, but to very little purpose, since upon the matter the *Conformist* differs nothing from him: And for the justifying or condemning some phrases or modes of speech, they are not worth the while to debate about them: All my quarrel at these long winded Common places, being, that by a pretence of making matters clearer, they darken them with a multiplicity of words, and an intricacy of phrases. And as this is justly censurable on every head about which it is imployed, so it is more particularly in the matter of Justification, which being the ground of our hope and joy, should be so cleared, that no difficulty nor nicety get into our conceptions about it. What then can be clearer then that G O D in consideration of his Sons sufferings, offers free pardon to all sinners, on the termes of their forsaking their sins, their accepting his mercy through his Son, and their obedience to the rules of his Gospel, which whosoever do, are actually in the favor of G O D, made partakers of his grace, and shal in due time be admitted to his glory? This being the *Conformists*



*To the Reader.*

sense on that head, I leave it with all to consider what reason there was for making such ado about it, or for charging him with so heavy imputations. But he shrowds himself under his own innocency, and will patiently bear all the insultings and ungodly rage of that Adversary, without recriminating or answering him in his own style and dialect.

I pursue the method of a *Conference*, as being both more sutable to the purposes here canvassed, and more agreeable to the *Dialogues*, only I furnish the Scene with more persons; and I am much mistaken if the Answerer himself shall have ground to accuse me of not laying out the strength of his reasonings faithfully, since upon every occasion I put in *Isotimus* his mouth the substance of his arguings, as far as I could reach them. But to make this unpleasant peace of contention go the more easily off, I have subjoynd to it an account of the form and rules of Church-government, as I found them to have been received in the first and purest ages of the Church: But I add no more for Preface to that work, since in the end of the last *Conference* enough is said for introduction to it.

I have divided my work in four parts and *Conferences*: The first examines the opinion of resisting lawful Magistrats upon the pretence of defending Religion. The second considers the  
the



*To the Reader.*

the authority of Laws, and the obedience due to them, together with the Kings Supremacy in matters Ecclesiastical. The third examines the spirit that acted during the late times and wars, and continues yet to divide us by Schism and faction. And the fourth examines the lawfulness and usefulness of Episcopacy.

I must now release my Reader from the delay this *Introduction* may have occasioned him, without the usual formality of *Apologies*, for the defects the following papers are guilty of, since I know these generally prevail but little for gaining what they desire: but shal only say, that this morose way of writing, by engaging into *Controversies*, is as contrary to my *Genius* as to any mans alive: For I know well how little such writings prevail for convincing of any, and that by them the most part are rather hardened into more wilfulness, and exasperated into more bitterness: Yet for this once I was prevailed on to do violence to my own inclinations, by this *Patrocin*y of the authority and laws of that Church and Kingdom wherein I live.

I am so far from thinking my self concerned to make Apology for the slowness of this Piece its appearance in publick, that I encline rather to make excuses for its coming abroad too soon. That it was ready near a twelve-month ago, can be witnessed by many who then saw it. Yet I



*To the Reader.*

was willing to let it ly sometime by me, and my aversion from the motions of the Press, put it often under debate with me whether I should stifle it, or give it vent: at length I yeelded to the frequent importunities of my friends who assaulted me from all hands, and told me how much it was longed for, and what insultings were made upon the delay of its publication.

And by what is near the end of the third *Conference*, it will appear that it was written before the discovery of these who had robbed and wounded the Ministers in the West of Scotland. I let what is there said continue as it was written, before the discovery, but shal add somewhat here. In *September* last, after a new robbery had been committed on another conformable Minister, whose actors no search could discover; some few days had not passed over, when by a strange Providence one of them was catched on another account by a brave Souldier, and being seized, such indications of his accession to the robbery were found about him, that he to prevent torture, confessed not only his own guilt, but discovered a great many more: most of them escaped, yet three were taken, and had Justice done on them, with him who had been their chief Leader: and who continued to cant it out highly after he got his Sentence, talking of his blood as innocently shed, and railing against



*To the Reader.*

against the Prelats and Curats; though before Sentence he was basely fordid, as any could be. One of his complices who died with more sense, acknowledged, when he spake his last words, that bitter zeal had prompted him to that villany, and not covetousness, or a design of robbing their goods. Yet I shal not conceal what I was a witness to, when a Minister of the Presbyterian perswasion being with them (for two of them would willingly admit of none that were Episcopal) after he had taken pains to convince the chief Robber of the atrociousness of his crimes, which was no easie task, he charged him to discover if either Gentlemen, or Ministers, had prompted or cherished him in it, or been conscious to his committing these robberies, he cleared all, except a few particular and mean persons who went sharers with him. And by this fair and ingenuous procedure, the Reader may judge how far the Author is from a design of lodging infamy on these who differ from him, when of his own accord he offers a testimony for their vindication. But I shal leave this purpose, and the further prefacing at once.

If my poor labors be blessed with any measure of success, I humbly offer up the praise of it to him from whom I derive all I have, and to whom I owe the praise of all I can do. But if



*To the Reader.*

these attempts bring forth none of the wished-  
for effects, I shal have this satisfaction, that I  
have sincerely and seriously studied the calming  
the passions, and the clearing the mistakes of  
these among whom I live: so that more lyes  
not on me, but to follow my endeavors with my  
most earnest prayers, that the GOD of Peace  
may in this our day, cause us discern and consi-  
der these things which belong to our Peace.

THE





## THE HEADS TREATED OF in these Conferences.

**T**He first Conference examines the origine and power of Magistracy, and whether subjects may by armes resist their Sovereigns on the account, or pretence of defending Religion against Tyranny, and unjust oppression? And whether the King of Scotland be a Sovereign Prince, or limited, so that he may be called to account, and coerced by force?

The second examines the nature of humane Laws, and of the obedience due to them, and the Civil Magistrate's right of enacting Laws in matters Ecclesiastical.

The third examines the grounds and progress of the late Warrs, whether they were Defensive or Invasive, and what Spirit did then prevail? and the grounds of our present Schism are considered.

The fourth examines the origine, lawfulness, and usefulness of Episcopal Government, which is concluded; with an account of the Primitive Constitution and Government of the Churches that were first gathered and planted.

THE





## THE COLLOCUTORS.

- Eudaimon.*      *A Moderat man.*  
*Philarchaus.*      *An Episcopal man.*  
*Isotimus.*      *A Presbyterian.*  
*Basilus.*      *An Asserter of the Kings authority.*  
*Cræcus.*      *One well studied in Scripture.*  
*Polyhistor.*      *An Historian.*







# THE FIRST CONFERENCE.

*Eudaimon.*



YOU are welcome, my good friends, and the rather that you come in such a number, whereby our converse shal be the more agreeable. Pray, sit down.

*Philarcheus.* The rules of custome should make us begin with asking after your health, and what newes you have.

*End.* Truly the first is not worth enquiring after; and for the other, you know how seldom I stir abroad, and how few break in upon my retirement, so that you can expect nothing from me; but you have brought one with you who uses to know every thing that is done.

*Isotimus.* I know you mean me: the truth is, I am very glad to hear every thing that passeth; and think it no piece of vertue to be so uncon-



unconcerned in what befalls the Church of  
 G. D., as never to look after it: but you are  
 much wronged, if notwithstanding of all your  
 seeming abstraction, you be not deeper in the  
 knowledge of affairs then any of us: however  
 since you expect news from me, I was just now  
 reading some Books lately printed at *Holland*,  
 and particularly an accurate, and learned confu-  
 tation of these virulent *Dialogues* you were wont  
 to magnifie so much: and it doth my heart good  
 to see how he baffles the writer of them on every  
 occasion; for he hath answered every word of  
 them so well, and so home, that I believe we  
 shal not see a reply in haste.

*Philarcheus.* I suppose we have all seen the  
 Book, but it is like you are singular in your opi-  
 nion of it: I shal not deny its Author his deser-  
 ved praises: he hath been faithful in setting  
 down most of the arguments used in the *Dia-*  
*logues*, and no less careful to gather together all  
 the vulgar answers to them, and truly hath said  
 as much as can be said for his cause. Neither  
 writes he without art; for when he is pinched,  
 he drives off the Reader with a great many pre-  
 liminary things, to make him forget the pur-  
 pose, and to gain a more easie assent to what he  
 asserts: I confesse his style is rugged and harsh, so  
 that it was not without pain I wrestled through  
 it: but of all I have seen, he hath fallen on the  
 surest



surest way to gain an applause from the vulgar; for he acts the greatest confidence imaginable, and rails at his adversary with so much contempt, and malice, that he is sure to be thought well of, by these who judge of a man more by his voice, and the impressions of earnestness, and passion he discovers, than by the weight of what he saith.

*End.* These things may well take with the ignorant rabble, with whom it is like he designs to triumph: but truly such as understand either the civilities of good nature, or the meekness of a Christian, will be little edified with them. Indeed I am amazed to see so much indignation and bitterness fall from any mans pen who hath read *S. Paul*, condemning railings, evil sayings, and perverse disputings.

*Isa.* Who begun the scolding? The truth is, there are some who think they may rail with a privilege, and if any in soberness tell them of their faults, they accuse them of bitterness: but was there ever any thing seen more waspish than these *Dialogues*? whose design seems to have been the disgracing of a whole party, and all their actions for many years: If then the Atheism, the blasphemy, the mockery, the enmity to GOD and Religion, the ignorance, the malice, the folly and arrogance of such a confident babler be discovered, you are so tender hoisted

for-



forfeits, as to complain of railings.

*End.* It seems these writings have made a deep impression on you, you have got so exactly into their style: but this is a place where passion is seldom cherished, therefore we will expect no more of that strain from you. But to deal freely with you, there were some expressions in these *Dialogues* with which I was not well satisfied; but the whole of them had such a visage of serenity, that I wonder how they are so accused. It is true the *Conformist* deals very plainly, and yet ere we part, I can perhaps satisfie you: he said but a little of what he might have said: But withall, remember how severely, he that was meekness it self, treated the *Scribes* and the *Pharisees*, and he having charged his followers to beware of their leaven, it is obedience to his command to search out that leaven, that it may leaven us no more. And when any of a party are so exalted in their own conceit, as to despise and disparage all others, the love, Ministers of the Gospel owe the soules of their flocks, obligeth them to unmask them. As to these poor simple reproaches that are cast on the person of that Author, as they are known to be false and unjust, so they are done in a strain that seems equally void of wit and goodness. But we shal meddle no more in these personal differences, after I have told you what I heard



### The first Conference.

5

heard the Author of that Conference say upon this subject: he said, *He was so far from being displeased with the Author of this Answer, that he was only sorry he knew not who he was, that he might seek an opportunity of obliging him.* For the things charged on him, if he was guilty of them, he needed very many prayers; but if innocent, the other needed no fewer who so unjustly accused him: but a day comes wherein a righteous Judge will judge betwixt them: & this was the utmost displeasure. He expressed adding, *That he had another sense of the account he must give for his hours, then to engage in a counter-scuffle, or to play at such small game, as a particular examen of that Book would amount to: And he judged it unworthy of him to turn executioner on that mans reputation, by enquiring into all the escapes of his Book which are too obvious.* But he is willing to stand or fall by the decision of rational and impartial minds, only where he was either too short, or where the Answerer hath raised so much mist as might obscure a less discerning Reader: he will (when he gets out of the throng wherein his employment doth at present engage him) offer a clearer account of the matters in question, without tracing of that poor creature, who, it is like, expects to be recorded among the learned Writers of the age, and the Champions of truth.

*Bas.* We have nothing to do with what is per-



personal among these Writers: But since so many of us have met so happily, and seem a little acquainted with these Questions, let us according to our wonted freedom, toss these debates among us, without heat or reflections: which signifie nothing but to express the strength of his passions, and the weakness of his reasons who makes use of them. And indeed the matter of the greatest importance is, *the point of subjects resisting their Sovereigns, in the defence of Religion*, which deserves to be the better cleared, since it is not a nicety of the School, or a speculation of Philosophers, but a matter of practise, and that which (if received) seems to threaten endless wars and confusions.

*Crit.* I am no great Disputer, but shal be gladly a witness to your debate, and upon occasions shal presume to offer what I have gleaned among the Critical Writers on Scripture: and I hope *Isotimus* his memory is so good, that he will carefully suggest the arguments used by the Barons of defensive armes.

*Isot.* I will not undertake too much, but shal take care not to betray this good cause, yet I will not have the verdict passed upon my defence of it; however I shal not snake so shamefully as the *Nonconformist* did in the *Dialogues*.

*End.* I hope I shal not need to caution you  
any



any more against reflections : but as for the al-  
 ledged treachery of your friend the *Nonconfor-*  
*mist*, it may be referred to all *Scotland*, if what  
 he saith be not what is put in the mouthes of all  
 the people about these matters, and truly this  
 Answer adds so little to him, that nothing can  
 free him so well of that treachery, as the rea-  
 ding of this new Book. But to our purpose :  
 The Question is first in general, *If subjects under*  
*a lawful Sovereign when oppressed in their established*  
*Religion, may by armes defend themselves, and resist*  
*the Magistrats?* Let this be first discussed in  
 general, and next it shal be considered how far  
 this will quadrat with our present case, or our  
 late troubles.

*Ifot.* I like your method well, and that we  
 may follow it, consider (see pag. 20. of the *An-*  
*swer*, and *ius populi* all over) if there can be any  
 thing more evident from the *Laws of Nature*,  
 then that men ought to defend themselves, when un-  
 justly assaured? And since the Law of Nature  
 teacheth men not to murder themselves, it by  
 the same force binds them to hinder another to  
 do it, since he that doth not hinder another from  
 committing a crime, when it is in his power so  
 to do, becomes guilty of the crime committed;  
 he is then a self-murderer who doth not defend  
 himself from unjust force. Besides, what is the  
 end of all Societies, but mutual protection?



Did not the people at first choose Princes for their protection? Or do you imagine it was to satisfy the pride and cruelty of individual persons? It was then the end of Societies, that Justice and Peace might be maintained: so when this is inverted, the subjects are again to resume their own conditional surrender, and to coërcé the Magistrat, who forgetful of the ends of his authority, doth so corrupt it. And since the great design of man should be to *serve G O D, and to worship him in spirit and in truth*, this is to be preferred to all things else, as being of the greatest importance. If then Magistrats, whom *S. Peter* (1. Pet. 2. 13.) calls *the ordinances of men*, or humane creatures, do force their subjects from the true worship of G O D, they ought to be restrained, and the cause of G O D must be maintained, notwithstanding of their unjust Laws or cruel tyranny.

*Bas.* You have indeed put such colours on your opinion, that I should be much shaken from mine, were not my perswasion well grounded. But to examine what you have said, you must distinguish well betwixt the *Laws of Nature*, and *the rights or permissions of Nature*: the first are unalterable obligations, by which all men are bound, which can be reversed by no positive Law, and transgressed by no person, upon no occasion: for the Law of Nature is the  
image



image of GOD yet remaining in some degrees on the souls of men, and is nothing else save certain notions of truth, impressed by GOD on the souls of all men that enjoy the exercise of reason. X Now self-defence cannot be a Law of Nature, otherwise it could never be dispensed with without a sin; nay, were a man never so criminal: For as in no case a man may kill himself, were he never so guilty; so by that reasoning of yours, he ought not to suffer himself to be killed, neither should any malefactor submit to the Sentence of the Judge, but stand to his defence by all the force he could raise. And it will not serve turn, to say, that for the good of the Society he ought to submit; for no man must violate the Laws of Nature, were it on never so good a design: and since the utmost standard of our love to our Neighbors, is to love them as our selves, no consideration of the good of others can oblige one to yeeld up his life, if bound by the Law of Nature: to defend it.

*Crit.* If I may interrupt you, I should tell you that as among all Nations it hath been counted heroical to die for ones Countrey, or for the good of others, so the Apostle speaks, (Rom. 5. 7.) of those who for good men would dare to die. But chiefly CHRIST S dying for us, shows that self-defence can be no Law of Nature:



otherwise CHRIST who filled all righteousness, had never contradicted the Laws of Nature.

*Bas.* I thank you for your remark which was pertinent. But next, consider there are some *rights or permissions of Nature*, which are allowed us, but not required of us, as *propriety of goods, marriage*, and other such like things, which who so doth not pretend to, he cannot be said to violate the Laws of Nature, only for some greater consideration he forgoes these priviledges it allowes. And take men out of a Society, I acknowledge forcible resistance of any violent assailant, to be one of the rights of Nature, which every man may make use of without a fault, or dispense with likewise at his pleasure: But Societies being Associations of people under a Head, who hath the power of life and death, that sets it beyond doubt, that the Head must only judge, when the subjects do justly fore-feal their lives or not: which before I go about to evince, I must remove that vulgar error, of a Magistrat his deriving his power from the surrender of the people. None can surrender what they have not: take then a multitude of people not yet associated, none of them hath power of his own life, neither hath he power of his neighbors, since no man out of a Society may kill another, were his crime never so great, much less be his own mur-



murderer; and a multitude of people not yet associated, are but so many individual persons; therefore the power of the sword is not from the people, nor any of their delegation, but is from G O D.

*Isot.* You will pardon me to tell you, that the people must give the power, since G O D did it never by a voice from heaven, or by a Prophets command, except in some instances among the *Israelits*, where even that was not done, but upon the previous desire of the people. And for what you say of the peoples having no right to kill themselves, they only consent to submit to the Magistrats Sentence, when guilty.

*Basil.* This will then infallibly prove, that forcible self-defence cannot be a Law of Nature, but only a right; otherwise we could not thus dispense with it. But if though guilty, I ought not to kill my self, neither can I so much as consent that another do it: Hence it is, that the original of *Magistracy* must be from G O D, who only can invest the *Prince* with the power of the sword.

*Polyh.* I could say much in confirmation of that, from the universal sense of all Nations, who ever looked on the Magistrats power, as sacred and divine: but these things are so copiously adduced by others, that I may well spare my labor.



*Crit.* Nay, a greater authority is *S Pauls*, *Rom. 13. 1.* who saith, *That the powers that were then, were ordained of G O D:* which on the way saith strongly, for asserting the right of a Conqueror, after some prescription, since if either we consider the power of the *Roman Empire* over the world, or of their Emperors over them, both will be found to have no better tittle then conquest, and yet they were ordained of GOD, and not to be resisted, but submitted to, under the hazard of *resisting the ordinance of G O D*, and *receivng of damnation*, (p.2.) And it is like, the sacredness of the *Magistrats power*, was a part of the traditional Religion conveyed from *Noah* to his posterity, as was the practise of expiatory sacrifices.

*Basil.* It is not to be denyed but a people may choose their own form of Government, and the persons in whose hands it shal be deposited: and the Sovereignty is in their hands, of whom they do thus freely make choice: so that if they expressly agree, that any Administrators of the power, by what name soever designed, Kings, Lords, or whatever else, shal be accountable to them; in that case, the Sovereignty lyes in the major part of the people, and these Administrators are subject to them, as to the Supreme. But when it is agreed in whose hands the Sovereign power lyes, and that it is  
not



not with the people, then if the people pretend to the sword, they invade GODS right, and that which he hath devolved on his Vicegerent. And as in marriage either of the parties make a free choice, but the Marriage-bond is of GOD, neither is it free for them afterwards to refile upon pretence of injuries, till that which GOD hath declared to be a breach of the bond, be committed by either party: so though the election of the Sovereign may be of the people, yet the ty of subjection is of GOD, and therefore is not to be shaken off, without we have exprefs warrant from him. And according to your reasoning, one that hath made a bad choice in his marriage, may argue that marriage was intended for a help and comfort to man, and for propagation; therefore when these things are missed in a marriage, that voluntary contract may be refiled from: and all this will conclude as well to unty an ill chosen marriage, as to shake off a Sovereign.

*Philarch.* To this reasoning I shal add what seems from rational conjectures, and such hints as we can expect of things at so great a distance from us, to have been the rise of Magistracy. We find no warrant to kill, no not for murder before the Flood, as appears from the instances of *Cain* and *Lamech*, so no Magistracy appears to have been then: Yet from what GOD said



to *Cain*, *Gen. 4. 7.* we see, the elder brother was to rule over the younger. But the want of Magistracy before the *Flood*, was perhaps none of the least occasions of the wickedness which was great upon earth; but to *Noah* was the Law first given of punishing murder by death, *Gen. 9. 6.* and he was undoubtedly clothed with that power. So his eldest son coming in his place by the right of representation, and being by the right of primogeniture asserted before the *Flood* to be over his brethren, was clothed with the same power, and so it should have descended by the order of Nature still to the first born. But afterwards Families divided, and went over the world to people it, whereby the single jurisdiction of one Emperor, could not serve the end of Government, especially in that rude time, in which none of these ways of correspondence, which after ages have invented, were fallen upon. These Families did then, or at least by that Law of GOD of the elder brothers power, ought to have been subject to the eldest of their several families.

And another rise of *Magistracy*, was the poverty of many who sold themselves to others that were richer, and were in all Nations subject to them, both they and their children: and this was very early begun, for *Abrahams* family consisted of 318, persons, and the many little  
Kings



Kings at that time seem to have risen out of these Families: for the posterity of these servants were likewise under the Masters authority: and these servants were by their Masters pleasure to live or die; nor had they any right to resist this unjust force: But afterwards emancipation was used, some dominion being still reserved: and it is highly probable, that from these numerous Families, did most of the little Kingdoms then in the world spring up; afterwards the more aspiring came to pretend over others, and so great Empires rose by their conquests.

*Crit.* I know it is strongly pretended, that the state of servitude, or such a surrender of ones life, or liberty, as subjects it to the tyranny of another, is not lawful: but this will be found groundless: for though even the Law of G O D counted the servants a mans money, so that he was not to be punished, though he had smitten them with a rod, so that they died, provided they lived a day or two after it, *Exod. 21. 20. 21.* Yet in that dispensation it was not unlawful to be a servant; nay, nor unlawful to continue in that state for ever, and not accept of the emancipation which was provided to them in the year of Jubily. Neither is this state declared unlawful under the Gospel, since S. Paul saith, *1. Cor. 7. 21. Art thou called being a servant, care not for it: but if thou mayst be free,*



*free, use it rather:* By which we see the Gospel doth not emancipat servants, but placeth that state among things which may be lawfully submitted to, though liberty be preferable.

*Basil.* From this it may be well inferred, that if a Society have so intirely surrendered themselves that they are in no better case then were the servants among the *Romans* or *Hebrews*, the thing is not unlawful; nor can they make it void, or resume the freedom without his consent whose servants they are: and as *S. Peter* tells, *1. Pet. 2. 18. The servants to submit to their Masters, though punishing them wrongfully.* By whom all know that he means not of hired, but of bought servants: so if a people be under any degrees of that state, they ought to submit, not only to the good, but to the froward: and still it appears that the sword is only in the Magistrate's hand, and that the people have no claim to it. It is true, in case the Magistrate be furious, or desert his right, or expose his Kingdoms to the fury of others, the Laws and sense of all Nations agree, that the States of the Land are to be the Administrators of the power, till he recover himself: But the instance of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Dan. 4. 26.* shows, that still the Kingdom should be sure to him when he recovers.

*Isot.* Now you begin to yeeld to truth, and  
con-



confess, that a Magistrat, when he grossly abuseth his power, may be coërced: this then shows that the people are not slaves.

*Basil.* The case varies very much when the abuse is such that it tends to a total subversion, which may be called justly *a phrenesie*, since no man is capable of it till he be under some lesion of his mind; in which case, the power is to be administred by others, for the Prince and his peoples safety: But this will never prove that a Magistrat governing by Law, though there be great errors in his Government, ought to be coërced: otherwise you must open a door to perpetual broils, since every one by these maximes becomes Judge; and where he is both Judge and party, he is not like to be cast in his pretensions: And even few malefactors die, but they think hard measure is given them. If then forcible self-defence be to be followed, none of these should yeeld up their lives without using all attempts for rescuing them.

*End.* Whatever other cases allow of, certainly the defence of Religion by armes is never to be admitted: for the nature of Christian Religion is such, that it excludes all carnal weapons from its defence. And when I consider how expressly *C H R I S T* forbids his disciples to resist evil, *Matth. 25. 39.* how severely that resistance is condemned by *S. Paul*, and that *condemnation* is  
decla-



declared the punishment of it, I am forced to cry out, Oh! what times have we fallen in, in which men dare against the expresse laws of the Gospel, defend that practise upon which GOD hath passed this condemnation, *If who-soever break the least of these commandments, and teach men so to do, shal be called the least in the Kingdom of GOD*: What shal their portion be who teach men to break one of the greatest of these commandments; such as are the laws of peace and subjection? And what may we not look for from such Teachers, who dare taxe that glorious Doctrine of patient suffering, as brutish and irrational, and though it be expressly said, *1. Pet. 2. 21. That CHRIST by suffering for us, left us his example how to follow his steps*, which was followed by a glorious cloud of witnesses? Yet in these last days, what a brood hath sprung up, Of men who are lovers of their own selves, traitors, heady, high minded, lovers of pleasures, more then lovers of GOD: having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof; who creep into houses, and lead captive silly women laden with sin? It is our sins that provoke GOD to open the bottomless pit, and let loose such locusts; but were we turning to GOD, and repenting of the works of our hands, we might hope that their power should be taken from them, and that their folly should be made known to all men.

*Isot.*



*Isot.* Who talk bigly now? But let reason and Scripture take place, and you shall find good warrants in the *Old Testament* for coërcing the Magistrat, and subjecting the power in the people's hands, (see p. 12.) for the people were warranted to punish Idolaters, *Dent.* 13. 12. And from the beginning of *Deuteronomy*, it appears that Book was directed to all *Israel*, therefore any might have punished Idolaters; therefore the power of reforming is with the people: And again (see p. 13.) the *Law of the King* is set down, *Dent.* 18. 14. which gives a clear evidence, that the people might coërcé him otherwise. Why was that Law delivered to the people?

*Crit.* I am much deceived if these instances do cōclud for your design, since the utmost they can prove, is, that some share of the executive power lay in hands of the people among the *Jews*; but that proves nothing: where by Law and practise it is clear the power is wholly in the hands of superior unaccountable Magistrates. But that the *Law of the King*, or of punishing Idolaters was delivered to the people, proves not that they must execute it: For the *Law of Sacrifices*, and all the *Temple-worship* was also delivered to them: but I hope you will not from that infer, that the people were to judge in these matters, or to give Laws to their Priests; neither will the Law, because addressed

to



to the people, prove themselves to be the executors of it; otherwise the *Epistle to the Corinthians* addressed to all the Saints in Corinth, will prove the people the Judges of excommunication, and of the rules of Church-worship, which are there delivered: so that though the Law was directed to all the people, yet that proves not that every precept of it concerned all the people, but that the whole of the Law was addressed to the whole people, and the respective parts of it, to all the individuals, according to their several stations: And after all this, you are to consider that some things were allowed by that Law to private persons, which ought never to be made precedents: for the Law allowed the friends of one that was killed by chance, to avenge the blood on the person that slew him, if he kept not within the City of Refuge: but that being a particular provision of their Judicial and Municipal Law, will be no warrant for such revenge in other States.

*Isot.* But what say you to the revolt of *Libnah*, 2. Chron. 21. 10. which revolted from *Jehoram*, because he forsook the LORD GOD of his fathers: And of *Amaziah*, 2. Chron. 25. 27. who when he turned away from following the LORD, his being killed by a conspiracy of these in *Jerusalem*, and the fourscore valiant Priests who withstood *Uzziah*, when he went to offer



offer incense? 2. *Chron.* 26. 17. See p. 13. 14.

*Crit.* As for your instances, consider that many things are set down in the *Old Testament*, that are undoubted faults, and yet so far are they from being taxed, that they rather seem to be applauded: so it is in the case of the *Midwives lie*, not to mention the *Polygamy of the Patriarchs*; therefore it not being clear to us by what special warrants they acted, a practise of that dispensation will be no precedent to us. But for that of *Libnah*, it may be justly doubted if the *Libnah* there mentioned, be that City which was assigned to the *Priests*: for *Numbers* 33. 20. we meet with a *Libnah* in the journeyings of *Israel*; and both the *Syriack* and the *Arabick* version, have understood the place of that City; for they render it, the *Idumeans that dwell at Libnah*. But whatever be in this, the particle *because*, doth not always import the design of the doer: which if you examine the *Hebrew*, will be very clear; and I shal name but one place to satisfie you, 1. *Sam.* 2. 25. *Elies sons hearkned not to the voyce of their father, because the LORD would slay them.* But, I doubt not, you will confesse this was not their motive to such disobedience: so this will import no more, but that *GOD* in his Providence permitted that revolt for a punishment of *Jehoram's* apostasie: neither will fair pretences justifie bad actions: so



so the utmost that place can prove, is, that they made that their pretence. But that their revolt could not be without they had also revolted from GOD, will appear from this, that the Priests were bound to give attendance by turns at the Temple, so none of them could have revolted from the King without their rejecting of GODS service, as long as the King was Master of *Jerusalem*, whither no doubt they would not have come during their revolt.

As for your instance of *Amaziah*, I confess it is plain dealing, and you disclose the *Mystery of defensive arms*, that it is but lamely maintained, till the doctrine of murdering of Kings be also asserted: And indeed your friend by this ingenuity of his, hath done that cause a prejudice, of which many are sufficiently sensible; for this was a secret doctrine to be instilled in corners, in the hearts of disciples duly prepared for it, but not to be owned to the world: For if that place prove any thing, it will prove that when a King turns from following the LORD, his subjects may conspire and slay him; how this would take among the *fifth Monarchy-men*, I know not; but I am sure it will be abhorred by all *Protestants*: and particularly by these who made it an Article of their Confession of Faith, That infidelity or difference of Religion, doth not make void the Magistrats just power: there-



Therefore this being a direct breach of both fifth and sixth Commands, though it be neither marked as condemned, nor punished in that short account there given, yet it will never warrant the resisting the Ordinance of GOD, upon which GOD hath entailed damnation. And whereas your friend alledgeth the justice of this may be evinced from Scripture, it shows that in his judgement, not only Tyranny, but the turning from following GOD, is a just cause for conspiring against, and killing of Kings: But I cannot see where he finds what the cause of this conspiracy was, since the Text taxeth only the time, but not the cause of it.

And for the instance of *Uzziah*, the Priests indeed withstood him, as they ought to have done, as the Ministers of the Gospel ought yet to do, if a King would go and consecrate the LORDS Supper: but their withstanding of that, imports no violent opposition; the strict signification of the word being only, that they *placed themselves over against him*, and so it is rendered by the *LXX. Interpreters*; and remember that *S. Paul withstood S. Peter to his face, Gal. 2. 11.* Yet I do not apprehend you will suspect he used force. As for what follows, that the Priests *did thrust him out*, it will not prove they laid hands on him, that word signifying only, *that they made him haste out of the*  
D Tem-



*Temple* : and is the same word which *Esther* 6. 14. is rendered, *hasted*, where none will think that the Chamberlans laid violent hands on *Haman* : so all that the Priests did, was to charge *Uzziah*; when his Leprosie appeared, to get him quickly out of the Temple : and some Copies of the *LXX.* have it so rendered : and the following words show there was no need of using force, since himself made haste. And for the word rendered *valiant*, or *sons of valor*, that word is not always taken for *valor*, but sometimes for *activity*; so *Gen.* 47. 6. sometimes for *riches*, so *Ruth* 2. 1. It is also rendered *wealth*, *Gen.* 34. 29. so this will not prove that *Azariah* made choice of these men for the strength of their body, but for the resolution of their mind, that they might stoutly contradict *Uzziah*; and thus you have drawn a great deal more from me than I intended, or these misapplied places needed, for clearing of them from the design you had upon them.

*Isot.* But is it not clear from *1. Sam.* 14. 45. that the people of *Israel* rescued *Jonathan* from his fathers bloody sentence against him, and swore he should not die? See pag. 15.

*Crit.* That will prove as little; for no force was used in the matter, only a solemn protestation was made. Next, the word rendered, *rescued*, is, *redeemed*, which is not used in a sense that



that imports violence in Scripture; but rather for a *thing done by contract and agreement*: And the *LXX. Interpreters* render it, *the people intreated for Jonathan*: nor need we doubt but *Saul* was easily prevailed upon to yeeld to their desire. Besides any King that would murder his eldest son and heir of his Crown upon so bare a pretence, after he had signalized his courage so notably, as *Jonathan* did, may well be looked upon as one that is furious; and so the holding of his hands, is very far different from the case of defensive armes.

*Isot.* But *David*, a man according to *GODS* heart, gathered four hundred men about him, and stood to his defence, when cruelly persecuted by *Saul*, *1. Sam. 22. 2.*

*Basil.* Many things meet in this instance to take away any colour of an argument might be drawn from it: for *David* was by *GODS* command designed successor to the Crown, and so was no ordinary subject. Next, *Saul* was become furious, and an evil spirit seized on him, so that in his rage he threw Javelins, not only at *David*, but at his son *Jonathan*. Now all confess, that when a Sovereign is frenetick, his fury may be restrained. Further, we see how far *David* was from resistance, he standing on a pure defence, so that when he had *Saul* in his power twice, he would do him no hurt; yea, *his heart*



*smote him when he cut off the hem of his garment,* 1. Sam. 24. 4. 5. This was not like some you know of, who set guards about their King ( for the security of his Person forsooth ) when he had trusted himself into their hands. And it is very doubtful if *Dauids* gathering that force about him was lawful; for these who came to him were naughty men, and discontented and broken with debt; whereas had that been a justifiable practise, it is like he should have had another kind of following. And his offering his service to the *Philistins*, who were enemies to GOD, to fight for them against the people of GOD, is a thing which can admit of no excuse. But after all this, if the actions even of renowned Persons in the Old Dispensation be precedents, you may adduce the instances of *Ehud*, to prove that we may secretly assassinate a Tyrant; and of *Jael*, to prove that after we have offered protection to one who upon that trusts to us, we may secretly murder him.

*Isot.* But what say you to the resistance used by *Mattathias*, and his children, who killed the Kings Officers, and armed against him? which resistance, as it was fore-told by *Daniel*, so it is said by the Author of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, That by faith they waxed valiant in fight, and turned to flight the armies of aliens: which by all is applyed to the *Maccabees*. And who  
are



are you to condemn that which the holy Ghost calls the work of faith in them? See p. 18. 19.

*Basil.* I see *Criticus* weary of speaking, and therefore will relieve him for this once, and tell you, that the title *Antiochus* had to command the *Jews*, is not undoubted: for *Josephus lib. 12. cap. 7. and 8.* shows how the *Jewish* Nation was tossed betwixt hands, and sometimes in the power of the Kings of *Egypt*, and sometimes of *Syria*; and that the factions among the *Jews*, gave the occasion to their being so invaded; for ambitious pretenders to the High Priesthood, sought the favor of these Kings, and so sacrificed the interests both of Religion, and their Countrey to their own base ends: which was the case in *Antiochus Epiphanes* his time, who after his attempt upon *Egypt*, came against *Jerusalem*, to which he was admitted by the men of his party, who opened the gates to him: after which, he polluted their worship and Temple, and fell on the cruellest persecution imaginable. Now his title over them being so ill grounded, their asserting their freedom and Religion against that cruel and unjust invader, was not of the nature of subjects resisting their Sovereign. Besides, what is brought from the *Epistle to the Hebrews ch. 11.* for justifying these wars, seems ill applyed: for from the end of the 32. verse, it appears he only speaks there of what was



done in the times of the Prophets, and none of these being during the time of the *Maccabees*, that is not applicable to them. Next, as for *Matthias*, I must tell you that GOD often raised up extraordinary persons to judge *Israel*, whose practices must be no rule to us: for GOD sets up Kings and Rulers at his pleasure: and in the Old Dispensation he frequently sent extraordinary persons to do extraordinary things, who were called *Zealots*: & such was *Samuels* hewing *Agag* in pieces before the LORD, *Elijah* his causing kill the Priests of *Baal*, which was not done upon the peoples power to kill Idolaters; but *Elijah* having by that signal miracle of fire falling from heaven, proved both that GOD was the LORD, and only to be worshipped, and that he was his Prophet, and commanding these Priests to be killed, he was to be obeyed. Of the same nature was his praying for fire from heaven on the Captains who came to take him, and *Elisha* his cursing of the children who reproached him. From these precedents we see it is apparent that often in the Old Dispensation, the power of the sword, both ordinary and extraordinary, was assumed by persons sent of GOD, which will never warrant private and ordinary uninspired persons to do the like.

*Isot.* I acknowledge this hath some ground; but the first instance of these *Zealots*, was *Phinehas*,  
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in whom we find no vestige of an extraordinary mission, and yet he killed *Zimri* and *Cosbi*, for which he was rewarded with an everlasting Priesthood: So a zeal for GOD in extraordinary cases, seems warrant enough for extraordinary practises. *Pag. 382. to 405.*

*Basil.* If you will read the account of that action given by *Moses*, it will clear you of all your mistakes: since *Phinehas* had the warrant of the Magistrat for all he did, for *Moses* being then the person in whose hands the civil power was committed by GOD, did say to the Judges of *Israel*, *Numb. 25. 5. Slay ye every one his men that were joyned to Baal Peor.* Now that *Phinehas* was a Judge in *Israel* at that time, is not to be doubted; for *Eleazar* was then High Priest, and by that means exempted from that authority, which when his father *Aaron* lived, was in his hand, *Numb. 3. 32.* and he being now in his fathers place, there is no ground to doubt but *Phinehas* was also in his, and so as one of the Judges, he had received command from *Moses* to execute judgement on these impure Idolaters, which he did with so much noble zeal, that the Plague was stayed, and GODS wrath turned away. But if this conclude a precedent, it will prove too much, both that a Church-man may execute judgement, and that a privat person in the sight of a holy Magistrat, without



waiting for his Justice, may go and punish crimes. From the instances adduced, it will appear how *Zealots* were ordinarily raised up in that Dispensation: But when two of **CHRISTS** Disciples lay claim to that privilege of praying for fire from heaven, he gives check to the fervor of their thundering zeal, & tells them, *Luk. 9. 55. 56. You know not what spirit you are of: adding, that the Son of man was not come to destroy mens lives, but to save them:* Whereby he shows that thogh in the Old Dispensation, **GOD** having by his own command given his people a title to invade the Nations of *Canaan*, & extirpat them, having also given them Political Laws for the administration of Justice, and order among them, it was proper for that time that **GOD** should raise up Judges to work extraordinary deliverances to his people, whose example we are not now to imitate. **GOD** also sent Prophets, who had it sometimes in Commission to execute Justice on transgressors; yet in the New Dispensation, these things were not to take place, where we have no temporal *Canaan*, nor Judicial Laws given us; and consequently none are now extraordinarily called in the Name of **GOD**, to inflict ordinary and corporal punishments.

Having said all this, it will be no hard task to make it appear that *Mattathias* was a person extraordinarily raised up by **GOD**, as were the  
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the Judges. And though no mention of that be made, neither by *Josephus*, nor the Book of *Maccabees*, that is not to be stood upon; for we have many of the Judges of *Israel*, of whose call no account is given, and yet undoubtedly they were warranted to act as they did, otherwise they had been Invaders. But if that practise of *Mattathias* conclud any thing by way of precedent, it will prove that Church-men may invade the Magistrats Office, and kill his Officers, and raise war against him.

*Crit.* I wonder we hear not *Isotimus* alledging the practise of the ten Tribes, who rejected *Rehoboam*, and made choice of *Jeroboam*, which useth to be very confidently adduced, for proving it to be the peoples right to give Laws to their Princes, and to shake them off when they refuse obedience to their desires. But to this and all other instances of this nature, it is to be answered, that the Jewish State being a *Theocracy*, as it is called by their own Writers, their Judges, and many of their Kings had their title from *GODS* designation, and the possession was only yeelded to them by the people, according to the command, *Deut. 17. 15. To set him King over them whom the LORD their GOD did choose*: So when they sought a King, they came to *Samuel*, as the known Prophet of *GOD*, and desired him to give them a King, which he after-



afterwards did. In like manner was *David* designed to succeed *Saul*, by the same Prophet; and upon *Saul's* death, the Tribe of *Judah* came and acknowledged, and anointed him King, which was the solemn investiture in that to which he had formerly a right.

*Jeroboam* being by the same authority designed King over the ten Tribes by the mouth of *Ahijah* in the Name of *G O D*, 1. *Kings* 11. ch. from v. 28. he derived his Title from that: and there was as good warrands for the people to reject *Rehoboam*, and follow him, as was formerly to quite *Ishbosheth*, and follow *David*.

Another instance of this nature is *Elisha* his sending one to *Jehu*, where that young Prophet saith, 2. *Kings* 9. 6. Thus saith the *LORD G O D* of *Israel*, I have anointed thee King over the people of the *LORD*, even over *Israel*: Upon the notice whereof, v. 13. he is declared King. These instances will sufficiently prove what I have alleged, that the Kings of the *Hebrews* having their right from *G O D*, were to be changed when the most High who ruleth in the Kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men, interposed his authority and command. One word more, and I have done. When the Law of the Judge is set down, *Deut.* 17. 12. all who do presumptuously, and hearkened not unto the Judge, are senten-



sentenced to death, *That evil might be put away from Israel, whereby the people might hear, and fear, and do no more presumptuously.* This shows that absolute submission was due to the Judges, under the pain of death; whereby all privat mens judging of their sentence is struck out. It is true the other laws that prefer the Commands of GOD to the laws of men, do necessarily suppose the exception of unlawful commands: but since no law warrants the resisting their sentence, it will clearly follow that absolut submission was due to these Judges.

*Basil.* Truly these things as they seem to be well made out from Scripture, so they stand with reason, since no order can be expected among men, unless there be an uncontrollable Tribunal on earth. Our consciences are indeed only within GODS Jurisdiction: but if there be not a Supream Power to cognosce and determine about our actions, there must follow endless confusions, when any number of people can be got to mutiny against Laws: therefore there must be a Supream Court. But the Laws and settled practises of Kingdoms, must determine in whose person this lyes, whither in a single Person, the Nobility, or the Major part of the People? Yet I desire to hear what decisions the *New Testament* offers in this question.



*Crit.* Truly that will be soon dispatched; consider then how our LORD, *Matth. 5.* forbids us to resist evil; where it is true, he enumerates only small injuries: so I shall not deny but that place will amount no further, then that we ought to bear small injuries, rather then revenge or oppose them; but you must yeeld to the doctrine of submission, if afterwards you consider how our LORD tells us, *Matth. 11. 20.* To learn of him, for he was meek; and that he condemns the thundering fervor of his Disciples, who called for fire from heaven, showing the nature of the New Dispensation to be quite different from the Old, in that particularly, that the Son of man came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them: And chiefly that when he was to give the greatest instance wherein we should imitate him, he refused the defence of the sword, and commanded S. Peter to put up his sword, *Matth. 26. 52.*

*Isot.* If you urge this too much, then must I answer, that by the same consequence you may prove we must cast our selves on dangers, and not flee from them: since we find CHRIST going up to Jerusalem, though he knew what was abiding him there: neither did he fly, which yet himself allowed. Besides, you may as well urge against all prayer to GOD for deliverance; his not praying for Angels to assist him.

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But the clear account of this is given by himself, that the Scriptures were to be fulfilled which fore-told his death. See p. 24. and *Answer to the Letter about *ius populi**.

*Crit.* I must confess my self amazed at this Answer, when I find S. Peter saying expressly, 1. Pet. 2. 21. That *CHRIST* suffered, leaving us an example that we might follow his steps; and applying this to the very case of suffering wrongfully; and that notwithstanding of that, you should study to pervert the Scripture so grossly besides: consider that *CHRIST* was to fulfill all righteousness; if then the Laws of Nature exact our defence in case of unjust persecution for Religion, he was bound to that Law as well as we; For he came not to destroy, but to fulfill the Law, both by his example and precepts. If then you charge the Doctrine of Absolut Submission, as brutish and stupid, see you do not run into blasphemy, by charging that holy One foolishly: for whatever he knew of the secret will of *GOD*, he was to follow his revealed will in his actions, whereby he might be a perfect Pattern to all his followers: for *GOD*'S revealed will was his rule, as well as ours. But I dwell too long on things that are clear. As for your instances, they will serve you in no stead. For his coming to *Jerusalem* was a duty, all the males being bound to appear three times a year before the



the LORD at *Jerusalem*, at the three festivals, the Pasover being the first of them, *Deut. 16*. And this being a duty, our LORD was to perform it, what ever hazard might follow. So we find *S. Paul* on a less obligation going to *Jerusalem*, notwithstanding of the bonds were fore-told to abide him there. And as for your other pretended consequence against prayer, from his not praying for legions of Angels, it bewrays great inadvertency: for you find our LORD a few minuts before, praying in the Garden, *Matth. 26. 42.* over and over again, that *if it were possible that cup might pass from him.* And there is our warrant from his practise, to pray for a deliverance from troubles or persecutions, if it may stand with the holy will of GOD: But for a miraculous deliverance by the ministry of Angels, that our LORD would not pray for, lest thereby the Prophecies should not be accomplished: and by this, our praying for a miraculous deliverance, is indeed from his example condemned: but still we are to pray, that if it be possible, and according to the will of GOD, any bitter cup is put in our hands, may pass from us. Next, let me desire you to consider the reason given *S. Peter* for putting up his sword, *Matth. 26. 52.* *For they that take the sword, shall perish by the sword.*

*Isot.* You misapply this place palpably, it not being



being designed as a threatning against S. Peter, but for the encouragement of his Disciples, and being indeed a Prophecie that the *Jews* who now came against him with swords and staves, should perish by the sword of the *Romans*, who should be the avengers of CHRIST'S death. See pag. 25.

*Crit.* You are beholding to *Grotius* for this exposition, who is the first of the latter Writers that hath given that sense to these words, though he voucheth for his opinion some elder Writers; and he designing to prove that a privat person may resist another privat assaillant by force, being a little pinched with this place, which seems to condemn simply the use of the sword, escapes out of it by the answer you have adduced. But though this were the genuine scope of these words, still remember that our LORD rejects the use of the sword for his defence: and if his fore-telling the destruction of the *Jews*, was of force to bind up S. Peters hands, why should not also that general promise, *Rev. 13. 10.* *He that killeth with the sword, must be killed by the sword*, also secure our fears, and sheath our swords, and the rather that it is there subjoyned, *Here is the faith and patience of the Saints?* Which seems to imply that since retaliation will be given out by GOD upon unjust murderers, therefore faith & patience must be the exercise of



of the Saints, which to all unprejudged minds, will sound a discharge of the use of weapons of war. But after all this, the phrase of *taking the sword*, seems only applicable to *S. Peter*; for the band being sent out by a Magistrat, could not properly be said to have taken the sword, it being put in their hands by these who were invested with it, though they now tyrannically abuse their power: but the phrase agrees much better with *S. Peter* his drawing it who had no warrant for it, and so did indeed take it. Next, we hear no mention of the band of souldiers their using their swords; therefore this prediction seems fitted for *S. Peter*, and all such as mistaking the nature of the Christian dispensation, do take the sword. But next, consider **CHRISTS** words to *Pilat*, *John 18. 36. My Kingdom is not of this world: if my Kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my Kingdom not from hence.* And this being said upon the accusation the *Jews* had given against him to *Pilat*, that he called himself a King, charging him upon his friendship to *Cesar*, to put him to death, **CHRISTS** answer shows that earthly Kings need apprehend no prejudice from his Kingdom, since it not being about worldly things, was not to be fought for.

*Isot.* Speak plainly, do you mean by this  
that



that CHRIST should have no Kingdom upon earth? which I fear too many of you desire, since you press this so warmly. But consider you not that by this CHRIST only means he was not to set up a temporal Dominion upon earth, to juggle *Cesar* from his Throne, such as the *Jews* expected from their *Messiah*; and therefore this place is indeed strong against the pretences of some carnal fifth Monarchy men, but is ill adduced to condemn defence, when we are unjustly assaulted by a persecuting Tyrant. See p. 25.

*Crit.* It is no new thing to find the sincere doctrine of the Gospel misrepresented by sons of *Belial*; but learn the difference betwixt a Kingdom of the world, and in the world, and so temper your passion. CHRIST must have a Kingdom in the world, but not of it. And the greatest hazard of a pretending King being the raising of wars and commotions upon his Title, CHRIST'S words are not truly commented on by the practise of his servants, unless they secure Princes from their fears of their raising of wars upon his Title: Therefore as the fighting at that time, for preserving CHRIST from the *Jews*, had been contrary to the nature of his spiritual Kingdom; so the rule of the Gospel binding all the succeeding ages of the Church, no less then these to whom it was first delivered,

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what was then contrary to the nature of **CHRISTS** Kingdom, will be so still. And to this I might add the doctrine of peace so much insisted on in the *New Testament*, it being the Legacy **CHRIST** left to his Disciples, which we are commanded *to follow with all men, as much as is possible, and as in us lyes.* And if with all men, sure much more with the Magistrat. And *S. Pauls* words in the 13. to the *Romans* are so expresse, that me thinks they should strike a terror in all men from resisting the Superior Powers, lest they *resist the ordinance of GOD, and receive damnation.* And it is observable that *S. Paul*, who as a zealot had formerly persecuted the Christians, doth now so directly contradict that doctrine, which was at that time so horridly corrupted among the *Jews*. This place is so expresse, that it needs not the advantages may be given to it, either from the consideration of the power the *Roman* Empire had usurped over the world, or from the Emperor who then reigned, who must have been either *Claudius* or *Nero*: and if the former, we find, *Acts* 18. 2. that *he banished all the Jews from Rome*, and with them the Christians, not being distinguished by the *Romans* from the *Jews*, were also banished: and here was a driving of Christians from *Rome*, which you will not deny to have been a persecution. But if it was *Nero*,  
we



we know very well how the Christians were used by him. But these words of *S. Paul* being as at first addressed to the *Romans*, so also designed by the holy Ghost to be a part of the rule of all Christians, do prove, that whoever hath the Supream Power, is to be submitted to, and never resisted.

*Isot.* If you were not in too great a haste, you would not be so forward, consider therefore the reason *S. Paul* gives for submission to Superior Rulers, is, *because they are the Ministers of GOD for good*: If then they swerve from this, they forsake the end for which they are raised up, and so fall from their power and right to our obedience.

*Basil.* Truly what you have said makes me not repent of any haste I seemed to make; for what you have alledged proves indeed that the Sovereign is a Minister of *GOD* for good, so that he corrupts his power grossly when he pursues not that design: but in that he is only accountable to *GOD*, whose Minister he is. And this must hold good, except you give us good ground to believe that *GOD* hath given authority to the subjects to call him to account for his trust; but if that be not made appear, then he must be left to *GOD*, who did empower him, and therefore can only coërce him. As one having his power from a King,



is countable to none for the administration of it, but to the King, or to these on whom the King shall devolve it: so except it be proved, that *G O D* hath warranted subjects to call their Sovereigns to account, they being his Ministers, must only be answerable to him. And according to these principles of yours, the Magistrates authority shall be so enervated, that he shall no more be able to serve these designs, for which *G O D* hath vested him with power: every one being thus taught to shake off his yoke when they think he acts in prejudice of Religion. And here I shall add one thing which all *Casuists* hold a safe rule in matters that are doubtful, that we ought to follow that side of the doubt which is freest of hazard; here then damnation is at least the seeming hazard of resistance; therefore except upon as clear evidence you prove the danger of absolute submission to be of the same nature that it may ballance the other; then absolute submission, as being the securest, is to be followed. Next, we find *S. Peter*, *1. Pet. 2. 13.* &c. who being yet infected with the spirit of a *Jewish* zealot, had drawn the sword; afterwards when indued with power from on High, at length pressing the doctrine of obedience, adding that the pretence of the Christian freedom should not be made a cloke of maliciousness. And this submission he recom-



commends not only to subjects, whose obedience was more easie, but to servants who were under a heavier yoke, according to the laws of servitude, both among the *Jews* and the *Romans*: and he tells them, That *when they did well, and suffered for it, and took it patiently, that was acceptable.* Withall adding, *For even hereunto were you called; because CHRIST also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps.* Further, it is to be considered how the *Jews* did upon the first preaching of the Gospel persecute the Christians every where: *S. Stephen* was stoned, and *Saul* got commissions for making havock of the Church: but because this was done by the authority of the *Sanhedrim*, no resistance was made them, though since at two Sermons we hear of 8000. converts, we may be induced to believe their number was great. And from hence subsume that the case of persecution being then not only imminent, but also present (besides the grievous persecutions were abiding the Churches for three Centuries) it must be confessed to be strange, that the matter of resistance being at least so dubious, no decision should be given about it in the *New Testament*; nothing being alledged from it that hath any aspect that way. And indeed I cannot conceal my wonder at them who plead so much the authority and fulness of Scripture, to reach even



the rituals of worship and Government, and yet in so great a matter adventure on a practise without its warrant. Truly *Isotimus*, if these things prevail not with you, beyond your little smal shufflings, I doubt it is because you have lost the standard to measure reason by, and have given up your judgement to your passions and interests.

*Isot.* I am far from denying the doctrine of the Cross to be a great part of these duties we are bound to in the Gospel; but this must not be stretched too far, lest it infer an obligation on us to submit to a forreign Prince, the *Turk*, or any other, if he come by force to impose on us the *Alcoran*, under a pretence of suffering for Religion. See pag. 27. and 28.

*Basil.* Truly when I hear how much weight is laid on what you have now said, as if it amounted to a demonstration against all hath been hitherto adduced, I am in doubt whither to pity their weakness, or blame their perverseness, who dare adventure on that, the punishment whereof the holy Ghost hath made damnation, upon such mistakes: for G O D hath put the sword in their hands who have the Sovereign Power, which they bear not in vain; for they are the *Ministers of G O D*, and his revengers, to execute wrath on him that doth evil: The Magistrats then are both by the Laws of G O D, and of all Nations,



Nations, the Protectors of their subjects, and therefore tributs & customs are due to them, for defraying the expence to which that must put them; and prayers are to be offered up for them, that *we may lead a quyet & peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.* If then a forreign Prince invade a Countrey, under whatever pretence, the Sovereign is bound to defend his subjects, with the sword GOD hath put in his hand, which comes to be a most lawful war on his side; nay such, as he were a betrayer of his trust, if he omitted it.

*Isot.* But what if our Prince should consent to such an invasion, and expose his subjects to be a prey to such an Invader, must they look on and see themselves destroyed, upon the pretence that GOD hath not put the sword in their hands, and therefore they must not take it; and because CHRIST'S Kingdom is not of this world, therefore they must not fight for him?

*Basil.* You suppose a case not like to fall out in haste; but were it real, that Invader having no Title to that peoples obedience, they may make use of that right of Nature which allows to one out of a Society forcible self-defence, if violently assaulted: and therefore such hostile invasion, be it upon what pretence soever, may be as lawfully resisted, as one privat man may resist another in his own defence, if he threaten to kill



him, unless he renounce G O D. If then one man may resist another, so may more men resist a great force coming against them: for to us who live here, the *Grand Seigneur* is but a fellow of our nature, and hath no right over us, no more then one privat person hath over his neighbor. And if you do not acknowledge a great difference betwixt such an asserting of our Liberties, from one that hath no Title to them, and the resisting of a lawful Magistrat, though unjustly persecuting his subjects, you must be set to your horned book again.

*Isot.* But at least you will confess that privat men living in a settled Society, have no title to the sword, according to your principles; must we then yeeld our throats to a robber that assaults us on the high-way? Or to come nearer you, if one threaten to kill us, if we yeeld not to their Religion, must we give way to their fury?

*Basil.* Remember still how I told you, that men living out of Societies have a right to self-defence, and when they come under Societies, they retain all their former rights, such only excepted as are by the laws of the Society judged inconsistent with its order and peace: therefore resisting of the Supream Powers, or those having their authority, being only discharged, the right of self-defence against equals still remains  
intire,



intire, so that a privat person may claim it or not, as he will: and therefore in the case of such an aggressor, the Laws of Nature and Nations do warrant me to use force when assaulted; yet if a greater consideration appear, and it be evident that my giving way to such unjust force will be more for the honor of the Gospel, if I resist, I do not sin, but do well; but if I resist not, certainly I do better.

*End.* I have been a witness to this discourse, not without much pleasure, and do acknowledge my self fully convinced of the necessity of obedience, and submission to the Supream Power, since without that be once established, as the foundation of Societies, I see not what peace or order can be looked for, but every one will take on him to judge the Law-giver: and if he have so much power or policy as to make a party, he will never want pretences, chiefly about Religion, considering in how many various opinions the Christian world hath divided about it. And it is a poor answer to say, it must be the true Religion that we should defend, since it is to be supposed every one judgeth the Religion he is of to be the true one: If then according to that doctrine, Religion be to be defended; certainly though the Religion be wrong, yet every one oppressed in his conscience, and judging it to be according to truth, is bound to defend



defend it; since even an erring conscience doth at least ty, if not oblige. For the common resolution of *Casuists* being that a man under an erroneous conscience, is yet to follow its dictats, though he sin by so doing: then all parties that are oppressed, ought to vindicat what they judge to be the truth of G O D. And by this you may see to what a fair pass the peace of mankind is brought by these opinions.

But mistake me not, as I were here pleading for submission, to patronize the tyranny or cruelty of persecuting Princes, who shal answer to G O D for that great trust depositated in their hands; which if they transgress, they have a dear account to make to him *who sits in heaven and laughs at the raging and consultings of these Kings or Princes, who design to throw off his yoke, or burst his bonds in sunder. He who hath set his King upon his holy Hill of Zion, shal rule them with a rod of iron, and break them in pieces as a potters vessel.* And he to whom vengeance doth belong, will avenge himself of all the injuries they do his truths, or followers: but as they sin against him, so they are only countable to him.

Yet I need not add what hath been often said, that it is not the name of a King, or the ceremonies of a Coronation, that cloathes one with the Sovereign Power; since I know there are, and have been titular Kings, who are indeed but the  
first



first Persons of the State, and only Administrators of the Laws, the Sovereign Power lying in some Assembly of the Nobility, and States, to whom they are accountable. In which case, that Court to whom these Kings must give account, is the Supream Judicatory of the Kingdom, and the King is but a subject.

*Isot.* But doth not the Coronation of a King, together with his oath given, and the consent of the people demanded at it, prove him to have his power upon the conditions in that oath? And these oathes being mutually given, his Coronation oath first, and the oath of Allegiance next, do show it is a compact; and in all mutual agreements, the nature of compacts is, that the one party breaking, the other is also free. Further, Kings who are tyed up, so that they cannot make, nor repeal Laws, nor impose taxes without the consent of the States of their Kingdom, show their power to be limited, and that at least such Assemblies of the States share with them in the Sovereign Power, which is at large made out by *Jus populi*.

*Basil.* It is certain there cannot be two coordinat Powers in a Kingdom; for no man can serve two Masters: therefore such an Assembly of the States must either be Sovereign or subject; for a middle there is not. As for the Coronation of Princes, it is like enough that at first



first it was the formal giving of their power to them; and the old ceremonies yet observed in it, prove it hath been at first so among us: But it being a thing clear in our Law, that the King never dies, his Heir coming in his place in the very moment he expires, so that he is to be obeyed before his Coronation, as well as after; and that the Coronation is nothing but the solemn inaugurating in the authority which the King possessed from his fathers death, shows that any ceremonies may be used in it, whatever the original of them may have been, do not subject his title to the Crown to the peoples consent. And therefore his oath of Coronation is not the condition upon which he gets his power, since he possessed that before; nor is it upon that title that he exacts the oath of Allegiance, which he likewise exacted before his Coronation. This being the practise of a Kingdom passed all prescription, proves the Coronation to be no compact betwixt the King and his subjects: And therefore he is indeed bound by his Coronation oath to G O D, who will be avenged on him; if he break it, so the matter of it were lawful: but the breaking of it cannot forfeit a prior right he had to the peoples obedience. And as for the limitations Kings have consented to pass on their own power, that they may act nothing but in such a form of Law, these  
being



being either the Kings free concessions to the people, or restraints arising from some rebellions, which extorted such priviledges, will never prove the King a subject to such a Court, unless by the clear Laws and practises of that Kingdom, it be so provided, that if he do mal-verse, he may be punished; which when made appear, proves that Court to have the Sovereign Power: and that never weakens my design, that subjects ought not to resist their Sovereign.

*Philar.* You have dwelt, me thinks, too long on this, though considering the nature of the thing, it deserves indeed an exact discussion: yet this whole doctrine appears so clear to a discerning mind, that I cannot imagine whence all the mist is raised about it can spring, except from the corrupt passions or lusts of men, which are subtil enough to invent excuses, and fair colors, for the blackest of crimes. And the smog of the bottomless pit may have its share, in occasioning the darkness is raised about that, which by the help of the light of GOD, or of reason, stands so clear and obvious. But when I consider the instances of sufferings under both Dispensations, I cannot see how any should escape the force of so much evident proof as hangs about this opinion. And if it had been the peoples duty to have reformed by the force of arms under the Old Dispensation, so that it  
was



was a base and servile compliance with the tyranny and idolatry of their Kings; not to have resisted their subverting of Religion, and setting up of Idolatry, where was then the fidelity of the Prophets, who were *to lift up their voyces as Trumpets, and to show the house of Jacob their iniquities?* And since the watch-man who gave not warning to the wicked from his wicked way, was guilty of his blood, I see not what will excuse the silence of the Prophets in this, if it was the peoples duty to reform: For it is a poor refuge to say, because the people were so much inclined to Idolatry, that therefore it was in vain to exhort them to reform; (*See p. 10. 11.*) since by that argument you may as well conclud it to have been needless to have exhorted their Kings to Reformation, their inclination to Idolatry being so strong: but their duty was to be discharged, how smal soever the likelihood was of the peoples yeelding obedience to their warnings. If then it was the peoples duty to reform, the omission of it was undoubtedly a sin; how then comes it that they who had it in cōmission to *cause Jerusalem to know her abominations,* under so severe a certificat, do never charge the people for not going about a popular Reformation, nor coërcing these wicked Kings who enacted so much Idolatry, backing it with such tyranny, nor ever require them to set about it? I know  
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one hath pickt out some expressions ( See answer to the letter to the Author of *7us populi* ) which to his thoughts found that way: but truly they are so remote from the sense he stretches them to, that I should wonder much at his Glosses, did I not know that the Bell seems often to ring the hearers fancy. From these, let us pass to the instances of the first Christians, who endured the sharpest persecutions with the greatest patience.

*Polyb.* Here is a large Theam for much discourse, if I should adduce all might be said on this head. Indeed the persecutions the Christians groaned under for three hundred years, are such, that scarce can they be read without horror; the last especially, which continued for about twenty years under *Diocletian*, and his Colleagues and Successors; and by the number that suffered, we may easily guess what the strength of the Christians was. But this can be doubted by none who have ever looked upon History. *Pliny lib. 10. Ep. 97.* writes to *Trajan* (which is reckoned to have been the 104. year of CHRIST) that in *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, where he was then Proconsul, there were many Christians of all ages, ranks and sexes: and that not only in the Cities, but through the Villages and Countrey places, that the Temples were almost desolat, the sacrifices long intermitted, and



and that none almost were found to buy the victims. The number of the Christians being so early risen to that height, we may easily imagine to what it swelled before *Constantines* times: not long after that, we find a whole Legion of *Marcus Aurelius* his army to have been Christians. And if we believe *Tertullian*, their numbers were formidable in his time; for after he had purged the Christians of his times from the designs of doing mischief to their enemies by stealth, he adds, *Apol. cap. 37*. Should we carry towards you not as secret avengers, but as open enemies, would we want the strength of numbers and armies? Are the *Maurus*, the *Marcomans*, or the *Parthians* themselves, or any Nations shut up within their own Countrey or bounds, more then the whole world? We are strangers to you, and yet we fill all your places, your Towns, your Islands, your Castles, your Villages, your Councils, your Camps, your Tribes, your Decuries, your Palaces, your Senat, and your Market place: Only we come not to your Temples, but abandon those to you. To what war had we not been both fit and ready, even though our forces had been fewer, who are butchered so willingly, if our discipline did not allow us rather to be killed then to kill? And he goes on, telling that such was the number of the Christians, that would they but change their dwellings, and leave the Roman Empire, it would have thereby become an amazing solitude,



solitude ; since almost all their Citizens were Christians. And the same Writer saith elsewhere, *ad Scap. cap. 2.* That though the Romans who were Idolaters, were found guilty of many conspiracies against their Emperors, yet never were any Christians found guilty of these practises. And adds, That a Christian was no mans enemy, much less the Emperors; but knowing him to be constituted by GOD, he doth find himself bound to love, reverence, honor, and wish well to him, with the whole Roman Empire, as long as the world lasts. Therefore, saith he, We worship the Emperor so as befits him, and is lawful for us, as a man next GOD, who hath obtained all he hath from GOD, and is inferior to none, but GOD only. And a little after, *Cap. 5.* he tells us of the numbers of the Christians, and how undaunted they were at the persecution; so that when one *Arrius Antoninus* in *Asia*, was persecuting the Christians, the whole City run to his Tribunal declaring themselves Christians. And he adds, If the like were to be done at *Carthage*, what would become of all the thousands were there, of every sex, age and rank? From this we may guess both of the strength and numbers of the Christians of that time, and yet there was not the least inclination among them to resistance. If any doubt the truth of what *Tertullian* saith, as is *p. 30.* he must charge him with very much impudence, who durst offer such writings to the Heathens, in matters of

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fact,



fact, which could not but be notoriously enough known: Neither do I adduce these places, because I lay so much weight on *Tertullians* opinion in this matter, as because he shows us what was the sense of the Christians of his time. A little after him *Cyprian* lived, who also tells us, *ad Demetrianum*, That none of the Christians when apprehended, struggled with those who seized on them, nor avenged themselves of that injustice, though their number was great and copious: But their belief of the vengeance should follow on their persecutors, made them patient, so that the innocent yielded to the guilty. And we may judge of the number of the Christians of that age, by what *Cornelius* who was Bishop of Rome, Anno 254. in *Euseb.* 6. Book, cap. 43. tells of the State of the Roman Clergy in his time, how there were in it 46. Presbyters, 7. Deacons, 42. Acolyths, 52. Exorcists, Lectors and Porters, and of widows and poor persons 1500. and where so many poor were maintained, you must confess the number of the Christians was very great. But if we go to *Diocletians* time, we find the number of the Christians incredible; and the cruelties used against them to have been such, that Hell could devise nothing beyond them. Some were burnt alive, others had boiling lead poured on them, others had their flesh and joynts torn off them by burning pincers, others



others were broken to pieces, others stretched all out of joynt, others hanged up by the thumbs and cut in flyces, others hanged up by the heels. And this was universal through the whole Empire, and to such a degree, that it continued for many years; and in *Egypt* alone they were often killed by hundreds a day, as *Eusebius* tells, who was a witness to much of it. And *Godean* reckons, that in one moneth there were seventeen thousand Martyrs killed: and during that persecution in the Province of *Egypt*, there were an hundred forty and four thousand, who died by the violence of their persecutors, and seven hundred thousand who died through the fatigues of banishment, or of the publick works, to which they were condemned. I had almost forgot one sort of persecution, which as it was the most dreaded, so hath in it that which could not but provoke all to the utmost of horror and despair, which was the prostituting of their Virgins, more dreaded then any death. But among all these vast numbers, none offered to resist with the sword: & yet they were so marvelously assisted by GOD, that in their sufferings they expressed the greatest joy in GOD, by their hymns and Psalms, and the most of mildness to their persecutors. And dare you say, *Isotimus*, that these were a stupid self-murdering crew? Or do you think that had they been guilty of such



a crime, as you seem to fasten on the doctrine of absolut submission, GOD had appeared for them in such a signal manner, to the conviction and horror of their persecutors?

I confess there is no piece of Story I read with such pleasure as the accounts are given of these Martyrs: for me thinks they leave a fervor upon my mind, which I meet with in no study, that of the Scriptures being only excepted. Say not then they were not able to have stood to their own defence, when it appears how great their numbers were: Or shal I here tell you the known Story of the *Thebean Legion*, which consisted of 6666. who being by *Maximinus Hercules*, an. 287, pressed in the oath they gave the Emperor to swear upon the altars of the Idols, withdrew from the Camp eight miles off; and when he sent to invite them to come and swear as the others had done; they who commanded them answered in all their names, *That they were ready to return and fight stoutly against the Barbarians; but that being Christians, they would never worship the Gods.* Whereupon the Emperor caused tyth them, which they received with such joy, that every one desired the lot might fall on himself. And this prevailing nothing on them, he tythed them a second time; and that being also without effect, he caused murder them all, to which they submitted with-



without resistance. And it is not to be denyed, but such a number being driven to such despair, and having so much courage as to dare to die in cold blood, might have stood to their defence a great while, and at least sold their lives at a dear rate, especially they having got off eight miles from the army.

Were it my design to back these instances with the great authorities of the most eminent Writers of the Church in these times, I should grow too tedious: but this is so far from being denyed, that the only way to escape so strong an assault, is to study to detract from these holy men by enquiring into any over-reachings, to which their fervor might have engaged them.

*Isot.* All their practises are not binding upon us, for many of them did precipitate themselves into hazards, others were against flight, & others against resisting of privat assailants, who without warrant came to murder them; therefore the spirit that acted in them, though it produced effects highly to the honor of the Gospel, is not to be imitated by us: yet on the other hand, I acknowledge we ought to be slow to judge them. One thing is observable, that *Maximinus* was resisted by the *Armenians*, when he intended to set up Idolatry among them. *Constantin* also invaded *Licinius* when he persecuted the Christians in the *East*: And the *Persians*, when persecuted



by their King, implored the help of the *Roman* Emperor. Besides, I have seen a Catalogue of many instances of resistance used in some Cities, when their good Bishops were forced away from them, which shows they were not so stupid as you design to represent them. See pag. 29. &c. and *ius populi* at length.

*Basil.* It is certain all Christians have one law and rule; and the laws of nature are eternal and irreverfible: if then the Law of Nature engage us to self-defence, it laid the same ties on them: therefore except you turn *Enthusiast*, you must say, that what is a duty, or a sin now, was so then likewise; and so you must either charge that cloud of witnesses with brutish stupidity, otherwise accuse our late forwardness of unjust resistance, since one rule was given to both; and contradicting practises can never be adjusted to the same rule. As for these invidious aspersions you would fasten on them, as if they had not understood their own liberties, they are but poor escapes; for it being already made out that violent resistance even of an equal, is not a law, but a right of Nature; if they thought it more for the glory of the Gospel to yeeld even to privat injuries, who are we to tax them for it? But for flying from the persecutors, it is true *Tertullian* condemned it, but that was neither the opinion nor practise of the Christians in these ages. As



As for what you alledge about the resistance made by the *Armenians* to *Maximinus*, I wish your friend had vouched his Author for what he saith of them; for I am confident he is not so impudent as to prove a matter of fact done twelve ages ago, by a Writer of this age. All I can meet with about that, is from *Eusebius lib. 9. cap. 6.* who tells, That in these times the Tyrant made war against the *Armenians* (men that had been of old friends and auxiliaries to the Romans) whom because they were *Christians*, and were pious, & zealously studious about divine matters, that hater of *G O D* intending to force to worship the false Gods and Devils, made to become enemies in stead of friends, and adversaries in stead of auxiliaries. And in the beginning of the next Chapter, he tells how in that war he and his army received a great defeat. Now how you will infer from this, that subjects may resist their Sovereign for Religion, I see not: for these *Armenians* were his Confederats, and not his subjects: and it is clear by the account *Eusebius* gives, that *Armenia* was not a Province, nor governed by a Prefect, as were the Provinces. Besides, consider how *Maximinus* came in the fag-end of that great persecution begun by *Diocletian* and *Herculius*, continued by *Galerius*, and consummated by *Maximinus* himself, in which for all the numbers of the Martyrs, and the cruelty of the

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the persecution, there was not so much as a tumult: which makes it evident the Christians at that time understood not the doctrine of resistance. But the *Armenians* case varying from that of subjects, it was free for them to resist an unjust Invader, who had no title to their obedience,

For your Story of *Licinius*, the true account of it will clear mistakes best (as it is given by *Eus. 10. cap. 5.*) *Constantine* after he turned Christian, being then Emperor of the *West*, called for *Licinius*, whom *Galerius* had made Emperor in the *East*, and they both from *Milain* gave out Edicts in favor of the Christians, giving them absolut liberty, and discharging all persecution on that account, which is reckoned to have been in the year 313. afterwards he allied with *Licinius*, and gave him his sister in marriage, and acknowledged him his Collegue in the Empire. But some years after that wars arose betwixt them, which *Zosimus* & *Eutropius* impute to *Constantinus* ambition, & impatience of a rival: but if we believe the account *Eusebius* gives of it, *Licinius* provoked with envy at *Constantine*, and forgetting the laws of Nature, the bonds of oaths, alliance, and agreement, raised a pestiferous and cruel war against him, and laid many designs and snares for his destruction, which he attempted long by secret and fraudulent wayes, but these



these were always by GODS providence discovered, and so *Constantine* escaped all his designed mischief: At length *Licinius* finding his secret arts did not succeed, he openly made war against *Constantine*. And as he was preparing for it, he made war likewise against GOD, and persecuted the Christians, because he apprehended they all prayed for *Constantine*, and wished him success; whereupon he made severe laws against the Christians, forbidding the Bishops ever to meet among themselves, or to instruct any women: afterwards he banished all that would not worship the Gods, and from that he went to an open persecution; and not content with that, he by severe laws discharged any to visit and relieve such as were in prison for the faith. Yet notwithstanding of all this, none that were under his part of the Empire did resist him; nay, not so much as turn over to *Constantine* against him, for ought that appears: But upon these things a war followed betwixt *Constantine* and him, wherein *Licinius* was defeated, and forced to submit to what conditions *Constantine* was pleased to give: who took from him *Greece* and *Illyricum*, and only left him *Thrace*, and the *East*. But *Licinius* returning to his old ways, and breaking all agreements, a second war followed, wherein *Licinius* was utterly defeated, and sent to lead a privat life at *Thessalonica*, where he was some-



sometime after that killed, because of new designs against *Constantine*. This being the true account of that Story, I am to divine what advantage it can yeeld to the cause of subjects resisting their Sovereign; for here was a superior Prince defending himself against the unjust attempts, and hostile incursions of his enemy, who was also inferior to him, as *Eusebius* states it: *whom consult 10. Book, 8. ch. and 1. Book of Const. life, ch. 42. and 2. Book, ch. 2. &c.*

And for your instance of the *Persians* imploring the aid of the *Romans*, I am afraid it shall serve you in as little stead: for the account *Socrates* gives of it (*lib. 7. cap. 18.*) is, that *Baranes* King of *Persia*, did severely persecute the Christians, whereupon the Christians that dwelt in *Persia*, were necessitated to fly to the *Romans*, and beseech them not to neglect them who were so destroyed, they were kindly received by *Atticus* the Bishop of *Constantinople*, who bent all his care and thoughts for their aid, and made the matter known to *Theodosius* the second then Emperor: but it happened at that time the *Romans* had a quarrel with the *Persians*, who had hired a great many *Romans* that wrought in Mines, and sent them back without paying the agreed hire; which quarrel was much hightned by the *Persian* Christians complaint; for the King of *Persia* sent Ambassadors to remand them as fugi-



fugitives: but the *Romans* refused to restore them, and not only gave them Sanctuary, but resolved by all their power to defend the Christian Religion, and rather make war with the *Persians*, then see the Christians so destroyed. Now it will be a pretty flight of *Logick*, if from subjects flying from a persecution, and seeking shelter under another Prince, you will infer that they may resist their own King. And for *Theodosius* his war, we see other grounds assigned by the Historian: and the Politicks even of good Princes in their making of wars, must not be a rule to our consciences: neither know I why this instance is adduced, except it be to justify some who are said (during the wars betwixt their own Sovereign and the Countrey where they lived) to have openly prayed for victory against their Countrey, and to have corresponded in opposition to their native Sovereign.

But I must next discuss that Catalogue of tumults in the fourth and fifth Century, which are brought as precedents for the resisting of subjects: and here I must mind you of the great change was in Christendom after *Constantines* days, before whom none were Christians, but such as were perswaded of the truth of the Gospel, and were ready to suffer for its profession; so that it being then a doctrine objected to many persecutions, few are to be supposed to have  
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entred into its discipline without some convictions about it in their consciences : but the case varied much after the Emperors became Christian ; so that what by the severity of their laws, what by the authority of their example , almost all the world rendered themselves Christian ; which did let in such a swarm of corrupt men into the Christian Societies, that the face of them was quickly much changed , and both Clergy and Laity became very corrupt, as appears from the complaints of all the Writers of the fourth Century : what wonder then if a tumultuating humor crept into such a mixed multitude ? And indeed most of these instances which are alledged, if they be adduced to prove the corruption of that time , they conclud but too well : But, alace ! will they have the authority of precedents , or can they be looked upon as the sense of the Church at that time , since they are neither approved by Council or Church-Writer ? And truly the tumults in these times were too frequent upon various occasions ; but upon none more then the popular elections of Bishops , of which *Nazianzen* gives diverse instances, and for which they were taken from the people by the Council of *Laodicea*, *Can. 13.* It is also well enough known how these tumults flowed more from the tumultuary temper of the people , then from any doctrine their Teachers did



did infuse in them. And therefore *Socrates lib. 7. cap. 13.* giving account of one of the tumults of *Alexandria* (made use of by your friends, as a precedent) tells how that City was ever inclined to tumults, which were never compesced without blood. And at that time differences falling in betwixt *Orestes* the Prefect, and *Cyril* the Bishop, who was the first that turned the Priesthood unto a temporal dominion, they had many debates; for *Orestes* hating the power of the Bishops, which he judged detracted from the Prefects authority, did much oppose *Cyril*; and *Cyril* having raised a tumult against the Jews, wherein some of them were killed, and the rest of them driven out of the City, *Orestes* was so displeased at that, that he refused to be reconciled with him; whereupon 700. Monks came down from *Nitria* to fight for their Bishop, who set on the Prefect, and one of them named *Ammonius*, wounded him in the head with a stone; but the people gathering they all fled, only *Ammonius* was taken, whom the Prefect tortured till he died; but *Cyril* buried him in the Church, and magnified his fortitude to the degree of reckoning him a Martyr, of which he was afterwards ashamed. And there being in *Alexandria* at that time a learned and famous Lady, called *Hyppatia*, whom the people suspected of inflaming the Prefect against the Bishop, they fled on



on by a Reader of the Church, set on her, and dragged her from her Chariot into a Church, and stript her naked, and most cruelly tore her body to pieces, which they burnt to ashes. And this, saith the Historian, *brought no smal infamy, both on Cyril, and on the Church of Alexandria, since all who profess the Christian Religion, should be strangers to killing, fightings, and such like.* Truly, Sir, he that will found the doctrine of resistance on such grounds, hath a mind on very easie termes to run himself upon condemnation. And yet such like are the warrants your friends bring from Church History. Therefore I see there is yet good ground to assert that doctrine was unknown in the Christian Church, till the times wherein the Popes pretended to the temporal power over Princes: all whose plea was managed upon the grounds of the great importance of Religion to be preferred to all humane interests, and that CHRIST had told his Disciples *to buy a sword*; and that Princes being the Ministers of GOD, were to be no longer acknowledged, then they observed that design for which they were set up. Only in one particular, less disorder may be apprehended from the pretensions of the *Roman Bishops*, then from these maximes that put the power of judging and controlling the Magistrat in the peoples hands, which opens a door to endless confusions,  
and



and indeed sets every privat person on the Throne, and introduceth an Anarchy, which will never admit of order or remedy; whereas these who had but one pretender over them, could more easily deal with him, and more vigorously resist him.

*Ist.* You have said very many things from History, which I shal not at this time undertake to examine: but I am sure it hath been both the practise and doctrine of the Reformed Churches, that in case of unjust Tyranny, the States of a Kingdom may put a stop to the fury of a King: and therefore where the Reformation was opposed by cruelty, it was also defended by arms. And let me add, that I believe your great quarrel at this doctrine, is, because the practise of it was so great a mean of preserving the Reformation, which though, in good manners, you must commend, yet I am afraid you hate it in your heart.

*Philar.* Whither you or we be greater friends to the Reformation, let the world judge by this one indication, that you study to draw all can be devised for the staining it with blood, which is the constant calumny of its adversaries, whereas we offer with the clearest evidences to evince its innocence. But let me premise the distinction of doctrine from practises; and though some unjustifiable practises appear, these must never be



be charged on the Reformed Churches, unless it be made appear they were founded on their doctrine. Besides, the Reformers coming out of the corruptions of Popery, in which the doctrine and practise of resistance upon pretences of Religion were triumphant, it will not be found strange though some of that ill tempered zeal continued still to leaven them. But for their doctrine, I take the standart of it to be in the Confessions of the several Churches; all which being gathered in one harmony, we are in the right sent of their opinions, when we search for them there. Now the doctrine of resisting of Magistrats is by diverse of their Confessions expressly condemned; but in none of them asserted.

It is true there are some ambiguous expressions in our Scots Confession, registred in Parliament Anno 1567. for Art. 14. among the transgressions of the second Table, they reckon to *disobey or resist any that GOD hath placed in authority, while they pass not over the bounds of their office*; which seems to imply the lawfulness of resistance when they so transgress: but besides that it is not clearly asserted; and only inferred, this doth not determine what the *bounds of the Magistrats Office* are: And if it be found that his Office is to coërce with the sword, so as to be accountable to none but to GOD, then

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no resistance will follow from hence, except of a limited Magistrat who is accountable to others. The same explication is to be given to that part of the 24. *Art.* where all such are condemned who resist the *Supream Power*, doing that thing which appertaineth to his charge. But in that same Article the Magistrat is called *GODS Lieutenant*, in whose Sessions *G O D* himself doth sit and judge. But with this, it is to be considered, when that Confession was ratified in Parliament, even when no Sovereign was to look to the clearing of any ambiguities, which might have been upon design by some, and through the neglect of others, let pass. The Confessions of the other Churches are unexceptionably plain, and without restriction in the point of subjection: For what seems like a restriction in the *French Confession* (*that the yoke of subjection is willingly to be born, though the Magistrats were infidels, provided that G O D S Sovereign authority remain entire and uncorrupted*) imports nothing, but that our subjection to them, which takes in both obedience and suffering, is not to strike out the great dominion *G O D* hath over our souls, whom we should obey rather than man. And even the Confession of the *Assembly of Divines*, ratified by the *Scots General Assembly*, speaks of submission to Authority in absolute termes, without the exception of resistance



in case of Tyranny, *Cap. 23. art. 4.* It is the duty of people ----- to be subject to their authority for conscience sake. Infidelity or difference in Religion, doth not make void the *Magistrats* just and legal authority, nor free the people from their due obedience to him. If then the doctrine of resistance be to be owned as a law of Nature, and as a part of the Christian freedom, how came it that it was not more expressly owned in this Confession, especially since it is known to have been the opinion of most of both these Assemblies? But on the contrary, it seems condemned, and only the undiscerned reserves of *just*, *legal*, and *due*, are slipt in for the defence of their actings. Truly this seems not fair dealing, and such an asserting of subjection at that time, looks either like the force of truth extorting it, or intimats them afraid, or ashamed to have owned that as their doctrine to the world. And by this time, I suppose it is clear that the Reformed Churches ought not to be charged with the doctrine of resistance.

*Poly.* Nay, nor the Reformed Writers neither, with whose words I could fill much paper, and show how they do all generally condemn the resistance of subjects: and when any of them gives any caveat to this, it is not in behalf of the people, but of the *States of the Kingdom*, who, they say, perhaps are impowered with authority to curb the tyranny of Kings, as the Ephori among the



*the Lacedemonians, the Tribuns of the people, and the Demarchs in Rome and Athens.* Now it is acknowledged, that if by the Laws of the Kingdom it be found that the King is accountable to the States, then their coërcing of him is not the resistance of subjects, but rather the managing of the Supream Power which lyes in their hands. If then you will stand to their decision in this point, of the peoples resisting of their Sovereigns, though Tyrants, the debate will not run long, they being so express. And this will be nothing shaken by any thing you may alledge in some corner of a *Peter Martyr*, or some other Persons of less name; for as from the same Writers, other places may be brought to the contrary; so what can these serve to enervat so much evident proof? Besides, we are not to consider the writings of some particular Persons, so much as what hath been the generally received opinion among the Protestant Writers, and most taught in their Pulpits and Schools. And whoever will attempt the contradicting that this hath been for absolut submission, it must be confessed to be hard to determine, whether his ignorance be most to be pitied, or his confidence most wondered at. By these things all may guess, if there be not strong grounds to apprehend the Reformed Churches must be innocent of that, which both their Confessions



disown, and their Writers condemn.

*Ifot.* I confess the Author of the *Dialogues* did with great confidence undertake the refuting of what is generally acknowledged about resistance used by the Reformed Churches: but his Answerer hath so refuted all he alledgeth from History, that I am confident he repents of his undertaking: and were it to be done again, perhaps he would think on other tasks, then to attempt what hath miscarried so in his hand, that truly I cannot but pity him in my heart.

*End.* It will be strange if he be so much mistaken as your Author represents him, yet his design in that was so good to deliver the Reformation from such a challenge, that me thinks he deserved a little better usage then your friend bestows on him. But I am much deceived if he be not able to make good all was asserted by him: let us therefore hear what *Polyhistor* saith on these matters.

*Ifot.* Begin then with the matter of the *Albigenses*, where force was used against *Simon Monfort*, who had not only the permission of the *French King*, as is acknowledged, but was assisted by him by 15000. men, which is vouched by some Authors: Besides, that the cruelties then used (which are made use of to aggravat their not resisting the King of *France*) if pertinently adduced, prove the King of *France* guilty



guilty of accession to them. And the Kings son, Prince *Lewis*, coming with an army afterward, shows all to have been done by the Kings command. And what is alledged from the Count of *Tolouse*, his being a Peer of *France*, by which he was a vassal, and not a subject, is to no purpose; since by the Feudal Law, vassals are subjects; and whatever authority they may have within their own dominions, they are still subjects to the Lord of the Feud. See p. 418.

*Poly.* I shal not with big words blow away what you alledge; but shal examine it from the accounts are given of that war. It is true, the Writers of that time do so strangely misrepresent these innocents, that little credit is due to most of the Histories about them: but this much is clear, that the *Waldenses* were every where persecuted, both in *Danphiné*, *Provence*, *Piedmont*, *Calabria*, *Boheme*, and other places, to which they scattered themselves, and fled for shelter: and notwithstanding of all the persecutions they lay under, from the Inquisition in *France*, they never armed against the Kings authority. These about *Alby* embracing the same doctrine with the *Waldenses*, and called from the Countrey, they lived in *Albigenses*, were thundered against by the Pope, and a *Jacobin Monk* being killed in their Countrey, *Pope Innocent* proclaimed a *Croisade*, promising Paradise



to all who came and fought against these Here-ticks, and avenged the blood of that Monk : and in particular suspecting *Raymond* Count of *Toulouse*, he excommunicated him, and absolved his subjects from their obedience, permitting any to pursue his person, and possess his lands; with which he wrote to all Christian Princes to come into his *Croisade*. But the King of *France* was imployed in wars both with the *Emperor* and King of *England*, and so could not joyn in it, but gave way to his Barons to take the Cross : And here the King consenting to so cruel an invasion, did undoubtedly shake much of his right to these Provinces, since he thus exposed them to the fury of an unjust Invader; so that though they had absolutely rejected his authority, this had quadrated with the case of a Kings deserting of his subjects. However the war went on, all managed by the *Legat*, as the Popes war. But *Raymond* came and submitted himself to the Pope, yet the *Legat* went on against *Beziers* and *Carcasson*, who had a great deal of reason to resist such an unjust aggressor. Afterwards the *Legat* gaping for the County of *Toulouse*, picked another quarrel with *Raymond*, and did excommunicat him of new, though he had got the Popes absolution : whereupon he armed, with the assistance of the King of *Arragon*, against the *Legat*, and his General *Simon Monfort* : but after-



afterwards the King of *Arragon* was defeated, yet all this while the King of *France* lay neutral, and would not permit his son to go against the *Albigenses*, because he had promised to the King of *Arragon* to be neutral; but the King of *Arragon* being dead, he gave way to it, and so his son came to the army: and this must be that which *Gulielmus Bruto* confounds with the beginning of the war. This also is that affair which the *Centuriators* say *Philippus Augustus* had with the *Albigenses*. But the *Legat* fearing the numbers Prince *Lewis* brought with him, and apprehending he might have possessed himself of the other places which belonged to the *Albigenses*, granted them all absolution, with the protection of the Church; and assumed the confidence to tell the Prince, that since he had taken the Cross, he was to depend on his Orders, he representing the Pope, and not to command in that army as the Kings son; reproaching him, because his father had given no assistance to the destruction of the *Albigenses* when there was need of it; but that after the miraculous victories had been obtained, he was now come to reap the Harvest of what was due to them who had hazarded their lives for the Church. And for all this, I refer you to the History of the *Albigenses*, compiled by *M. Perrin* lib. 1. cap. 12. &c. But what if by an overplus



I should justify the Count of Tolouse, though he had armed against the King of France, upon the account of his being a Peer of France, which exempted him from the condition of ordinary subjects, of whom *Pasquier Recherches de France, lib. 2. cap. 8.* saith, It was the vulgar opinion, that they were constituted by *Charles the Great*, who is believed to have given them almost as much authority as himself had, reserving only to himself the principal voice in the Chapter: but he refutes that vulgar error, and shows how in the end of the *Carolingian* race, great confusions were in France, partly through the various pretenders, but more through their folly: at which time, the Crown of France did likewise become elective; and he shows how *Eude*, *Robert*, *Raoul*, *Lewis*, surnamed *beyond the Sea*, *Lothair*, and another *Lewis*, were chosen Kings of France; and the chief Persons who at that time were most active, were these Dukes, Counts, and Bishops, who afterwards were made Peers. *Hugo Capet* therefore taking possession of the Crown, for securing himself peaceably in it, did confirm those Peers in that great authority they had assumed; which if he had not done, they had given him more trouble. And their constitution was, that if any difference arose, either betwixt the King, & any of the Peers, or among the Peers themselves, it should be decided by the Counsel of



of the whole twelve Peers. And he proves from an old *Placart*, that they would not admit the *Chancelor*, *Connestable*, or any other great Officer of *France* to judge them; they being to be judged by none, but their fellow Peers. These were also to be the *Electors* of the King. But *Hugo Capet* apprehending the danger of a free election, caused, for preventing it, crown his son in his own time, which was practised by four or five succeeding Kings. And *Lewis the Gross* not being crowned in his fathers time, met with some difficulty at his entry to the Crown; which to guard against, he crowned his son in his own time, and so that practise continued, till the pretence of electing the King was worn out by prescription. Yet some vestiges of it do still remain, since there must be at all Coronations of *France* twelve to represent the Peers: and by this time, I think it is well enough made out, that the Count of *Tolouse* was not an ordinary subject. And as for your confounding of subject and vassal, *Bodinus lib. de Rep. cap. 9.* will help you to find out a difference betwixt them, who reckons up many kinds of vassals and feudataries who are not subjects: for a vassal is he that holds lands of a superior Lord, upon such conditions as are agreed to by the nature of the feud, and is bound to protect the Superior, but may quite the feud, by which he is free of that sub-



subjection: so that the dependence of vassals on their Lord, must be determined by the contract betwixt them, and not by the ordinary laws of subjects. And from this he concludes, that one may be a subject and no vassal, a vassal and no subject, and likewise both vassal and subject. The Peers of *France* did indeed give an oath of homage, by which they became the liege-men of the King, but were not for that his subjects: for the oath the subjects swore, was of a far greater extent. And thus I am deceived if all was asserted by the *Conformist* in the *Dialogues* on this head, be not made good.

*Isa.* But since you examine this instance so accurately, what say you to those of *Piedmont*, who made a League among themselves against their Prince, and did resist his cruel persecutions by arms. See pag. 423.

*Poly.* Truly, I can say little on this subject, having seen none of their writings or Apologies, so that I know not on what grounds they went: and I see so much ignorance and partiality in accounts given from the second hand, that I seldom consider them much.

*Isa.* The next instance in History, is, from the wars of *Boheme*, where because the Chalice was denied, the people did by violence resist their King, and were headed by *Zisca*, who gained many victories in the following war  
with



with *Sigismund*; and in the same Kingdom fifty years ago, they not only resisted first *Matthias*, and then *Ferdinand* their King, but rejected his authority, and choosed a new King: and the account of this change, was, because he would not make good what *Maximilian* and *Redolph* did grant about the free exercise of their Religion: and thus when engagements were broken to them, they did not judge themselves bound to that tame submission you plead for. See p. 424.

*Poly.* Remember what was laid down as a ground, that the Laws of a Society must determine who is invested with the Sovereign Power, which doth not alwayes follow the title of a King: but if he be accountable to any other Court, he is but a subject, and the Sovereign Power rests in that Court. If then it be made out that the States of *Bobeme* are the Sovereigns, and that the Kings are accountable to them, this instance will not advance the plea of defensive armes by subjects. That the Crown of *Bobeme* is elective, was indeed much contraverted; and was at length, and not without great likelihoods on both sides, of late debated in diverse writings: but among all that were impartial, they prevailed who pleaded its being elective. Yet I acknowledge this alone will not prove it free for the people to resist, unless it be also apparent that the Supream Power remained with the States,



States, which as it is almost alwayes found to dwell with the people, when the King is elected by them: *Bodin* doth reckon the King of *Boheme* among these that are but Titular Kings: and the Provincial Constitutions of that Kingdom do evidently demonstrat, that the King is only the Administrator, but not the fountain of their Power: which is made out from many instances, by him who writes the *Republick of Boheme*, who shows how these Kings are bound to follow the pleasure and Counsel of their States: and in the year 1135. it was decreed, that the elected Prince of *Boheme* should bind himself by his Coronation Oath to rules there set down; which if he broke, the States were to pay him no tribute, nor to be tyed to any further obedience to him, till he amended. See *Hagencus ad* *ann. 1135.* And this Oath was taken by all the following Dukes and Kings of *Boheme*; which is an evident proof that the States had authority over their Kings, and might judge them. To this also might be added diverse instances of their deposing their Kings, upon which no censure ever passed. These being then the grounds on which the *Bohemians* walked, it is clear they never justified their resistance, on the account of subjects fighting for Religion, but on the liberties of a free State, asserting their Religion when invaded by a limited Prince.

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The account of the first *Bohemian* war, is, that *John Huss* and *Jerome of Prague*, being notwithstanding of the Emperors Safe-conduct burnt at *Constance*, the whole States of *Bohemia* and *Moravia* met at *Prague*, and found that by the burning of their Doctors, an injury was done to the whole Kingdom, which was thereby marked with the stain of Heresie: and they first expostulated with the Emperor and Counsel about the wrong done them; but no reparation being made, they resolved to seek it by force, and to defend the Religion had been preached by *Huss*; and did declare their design to *Wenceslaus* their King (whom the States had before that time made prisoner twice for his maleverſation) but at that very time he died in an Apoplexy, some ſay through grief at that. After his death, *Sigismund* his brother pretended to the Crown of *Bohemia*; but not being elected, was not their righteous King: ſo in the following wars that were betwixt him and *Ziſca*, the reſiſtance was not made to the King of *Bohemia*, and therefore all that time was an *Interregnum*, and is ſo marked by their Hiſtorian, who tells that the *Bohemians* could not be induced to receive him to be their King; he indeed invaded the Kingdom, and crowned himſelf, but was not choſen by the States till fifteen years after that a Peace was concluded, & he with great difficulty prevailed upon



upon the States to ratifie his Coronation, and acknowledge him their King. See *Dub. lib. 24. & lib. 26.* And by all this, I doubt not but you are convinced that the wars of *Zisca* were not of the nature of subjects resisting their Sovereign. And for the late *Bohemian* war, besides what was already alledged of the power of the States, their war against *Ferdinand*, and the reason why by a solemn decree they rejected him, was because he invaded the Crown without an election, contrary to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom: hereupon they choosed the *Prince Elector Palatin* to be their King. It is true they rose also in armes while *Matthias* lived, though he did not long survive these tumults: but in all their Apologies they founded their plea on the Liberties of the Kingdom of *Boheme*. And yet though this say much for their defence, I am none of the Patrons of that war, which had very few defenders among the Protestants.

*Isot.* At length you must yeeld there was war for defence of Religion: but if without the inclosure of *Boheme* we examine the History of *Germany*, there we meet with that famous *Smalcaldick* war, in opposition to *Charles* the 5. who was designing the overthrow of the Protestant doctrine, which the *Electors* of *Saxony*, with the *Landgrave* of *Hessen*, and other free Cities, managed against him. See p. 427.

*Poly.*



*Poly.* If any of the passions of men have mingled in the actions of Protestants, must these therefore be fastened on them as their doctrine; especially when they went not upon principles of Religion, but of Provincial Laws? As for Germany, let me first tell you how far the Protestants were against Rebellion, upon pretence of Religion. At first the *Rustick* war had almost kindled all Germany, which indeed begun upon very unjust causes; but *Sleydan lib. 5.* tells, That some troublesome Preachers had been the causers of that great and formidable war. Now it is to little purpose to say they were in many errors, and so fought not for the true Religion; since it was before made out, that if Religion be to be fought for, every man believing his own Religion to be true, is bound to take armes in its defence, since even an erring conscience binds: But as these Tumults did spread through Germany, *Luther* published a Writing, desiring all to abstain from sedition, though withall he told he apprehended some strange judgement was hanging over the Church-men: but that was to be left to G O D. After which he explains the duty of the Magistrats: And adds, That the people should be severely charged not to stir without the command of their Magistrats, and that nothing was to be attempted by privat persons: that all sedition was against the command of G O D, and that sedition was nothing but



but private revenge, and therefore hated by GOD. Adding; That the seditions then stirring, were raised by the Devil, who stirred up these who professed the Gospel to them, that thereby the truth might be brought under hatred and reproach, as if that could not be of GOD which gave occasion to so great evils. Then he tells what means were to be used for advancing of the Gospel, That they were to repent of their sins, for which GOD had permitted that tyranny of the Church-men. Next, That they should pray for the divine aid, and publickly assert the truth of the Gospel, and discover the impostures of the Popes. And he adds, That this had been his method, which had been much blessed of GOD. In a word, the whole strain of that first Paper shows, that the great bait used to train all into that Rebellion, was the pretence of the liberty of Religion, and the tyrannical oppression they were kept under by the Ecclesiasticks.

But upon this the Boures published a Writing containing their Grievances: The first whereof was, That they might have liberty to choose Ministers, who might preach the Word of GOD purely to them, without the mixture of mens devices. The other particulars related to their Civil Liberties. And upon these pretensions they appealed to Luther, who wrote again, Acknowledging the great guilt of these Princes who received not the purity of the Gospel; but he warns the people to



to consider what they did, lest they lost both body and soul in what they attempted. That they were neither to consider their own strength, nor the faultiness of their adversaries, but the justice and lawfulness of the cause; and to be careful not to believe all mens preachings; for the Devil had raised up many seditions and bloody Teachers at that time. Wherefore he forbids them to take *G O D S* Name in vain, and pretend that they desired in all things to follow his *Lawes*: But minds them who threatned, that they who took the sword, should perish by the sword: and of the *Apostle*, who commands all to be obedient to *Magistrats*, charging on them, that though they pretended the *Laws* of *G O D*, yet they took the sword, and resisted the *Magistrat*. But he adds, You say, the *Magistrats* become intolerable, for they take the doctrine of the Gospel from us, and oppress us to the highest degree: But be it so, stirrs and seditions are not therefore to be raised, neither must every one coërce crimes, that belongs to him to whom the power of the sword is given, as is express in Scripture. And besides, this is not only according to the *Laws*, but is by the light of Nature impressed on all mens minds: which shows, that no man can cognosce and judge in his own cause, since all men are blinded with self-love: And it cannot be denyed, but this tumult and sedition of yours, is a privat revenge: But if you have any warrant for this from *G O D*, you must make it out by some signal miracle. The

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*Magistrat indeed doth unjustly, but you much more so, who contemning the Command of G O D, invade anothers Jurisdiction. And he tells them, That if these things take place, there will be no more Magistracy, nor Courts of Justice, if every man exercise privat revenge. And if this be unlawful in a privat person, much more is it so in a multitude gathered together. Wherefore he counts them unworthy of the name of Christians, nay worse then Turks, who thus violat the laws of Nature. Then for proof of his opinion, he adduceth that of our LORDS resist not evil; as also his reprovng of S. Peter for smiting with the sword. These steps were to be followed by you, saith he, or this glorious title must be laid down. And if you followed his example, G O D S power would appear, and he would undoubtedly have regard to you. And he adds, How far he had been always from such practises, and how G O D had blessed his work in his hands: but for you, you advert not how much you obstruct that which you think to promote. These are a few of Luthers words, by which it will appear both upon what pretences these Boures went, and what his sence of them was. But I know it will be said, that as in the first ages of the Church, these good simple men understood not their liberties nor priviledges, but were whedled into a sheepish tameness: so likewise when the Reformation was first springing, they did not in that infancy under-*



understand the heroick doctrine, that the following ripeness of some martial spirits did broach and maintain. Alace! *Luther*, poor man! he had been bred in his Monastery, and understood not the brave atchievements of Christian Chevalry.

But who would bear with such disingenuity, as to say, that because he defines sedition to be privat revenge, and afterwards condemns privat revenge, therefore he must be understood as only condemning that? *p. 432.* But as none that reads *Sleydan* dare say that I have alledged one word in *Luthers* name, but what is faithfully translated out of these writings: so the parcells I have here inserted, will clearly discover that Rebellion to have been colored over with the pretence of oppression, persecution, and hindering the doctrine of the Gospel: and *Luthers* opinion in that must not be looked upon, as only his privat sense, but that which was undoubtedly received by the rest of the Protestants in *Germany*, as appears by the series of the Story. And whatever passion *Luther* might have expressed, that will no more brangle what I say, then any of his other unjustifiable fervors will shake the rest of his doctrine. For I do not adduce him here only as a privat Doctor speaking his single thoughts, but as the Head of the Protestants, delivering a doctrine



which was then received among them.

*Isot.* But he afterwards changed his opinion when the League of *Smalcald* was entred unto, and then we find the Protestants in another tune; for upon apprehensions of mischief designed against them, they entred in a defensive League among themselves: though the constitution of the Empire being feudal, the Emperor was their Sovereign: yet both Princes and free Cities entred in this League, which afterwards broke out into war. See p. 433.

*Poly.* Before I examine that affair, I must first clear the way by removing a mistake, which truly I judged none capable of that had ever read any thing of the Constitution of the *German Empire*, or of the power of the *Electors, Princes, and free Cities*. I must therefore since I have to do with so much ignorance or perversness, show that the Emperor is not Sovereign in *Germany*, though the thing is so plain, that I am almost ashamed to go about it. The *German Empire* was hereditary from the days of *Charles the Great* till *Henry the Fowler*, and then it begun to be elective: and as is usual in all such cases, they who had the right of election, got by degrees the authority transferred upon themselves: but the particular time when this begun, is not so clearly defined by the *German Writers*. It is true, the *Diet of Germany* is not like the League of  
the



the United Provinces, or of the Cantons of *Switzerland*, where the authority remains with the several States and Cantons, and they only meet for Counsel: but the *Diet* hath the supream authority, both of deposing of Emperors, as was practized in the case of *Adolphus* and *Wenceslaus*, and of fining, banishing, and forfeiting, either Princes or Cities. And the Princes declare after the Emperor is crowned, that they are the vassals of the Empire, and not of the Emperor. And when the Diet sits not, all things are judged by the *Imperial Chamber*, whose President must be a Prince of the Empire, who hath six Assessors from the Emperor, seven from the seven Electors, twenty from the ten Circles, two from each of them; and by them all the differences among the Princes or members of the Empire are decided. Upon greater occasions, the Diet is called, which *Thuan* compares to the Assembly of the *Amphictyons* in *Greece*, that was made up of Princes, who had no dependance one upon another. The Diet is not called by the Emperor, but by the Decree of a former Diet: or if the Emperor call one, the Princes are not bound to come to it. And so the Princes refused to come *anno 1554.* and *anno 1566.* By the Diet Laws are given to the Emperor, as well as to the other Princes: and any money is raised for the use of the Empire, is not put in



the Emperors hands, but in the bank of some Town, as shal be agreed on. *Bodin* tells he saw letters from a *German Prince* to *Monmorancy*, telling him that the King of *France* had reason to complain of *Charles* the fifth, and of his brother, to the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Count *Palatine*, who were the Vicars of the Empire, because they had, contrary to the Laws of the Empire, and former customs, suppressed the Kings letters to the States of the Empire. And *Maximilian* the first in a Diet at *Constance*, anno 1507. acknowledged that the Majesty of the *German Empire* consisted in the Princes, and not in the Emperor himself. I might here add much from the way of the Emperors treating with the Princes, by sending and receiving of Ambassadors that go betwixt them, by the state in which he receives visits from them, and returns them to them, by the Princes treating and being treated with, by all forreign Princes, who write to them *Brother*, and not *Cousin*, by their making of Peace and War among themselves: and should indeed run out into a long digression, if I adduced all might be alledged for proving the Princes of the Empire to be none of the Emperors subjects: but I have no mind to engage in a vain show of reading upon so plain a subject. One thing I shal only add, that by the 12. Chapter of the *Bulla Aurea*, it is expresly provided, that



that the Electors shal meet together yearly in the four weeks that follow Easter, for consulting about the affairs of the Empire: and this is thus explained in the 4. Article of the *Cesarean Capitulation*, That it shal be free for the six Electors by the vigor of the *Bulla Aurea*, to meet together as often as they please, for consulting about the Commonwealth, and that the Emperor shal make no hinderance to it, nor take it in ill part. And hence it is that these who give account of the state of the Empire, laugh at their ignorance, who through a childish mistake ascribe the Sovereign Power to the Emperor. The same may be added of the free Cities united together by a League at least 500. years old, called the *Hanse-towns*, who came under the protection of the Master of the *Teutonick Order*, that possessed *Prusse*: and an. 1206. they were so free, that they lent a Navy to *Henry* the third of *England*, and got great priviledges from him for their traffick in *England*. There were then 72. Cities in the League, who renewed their League every tenth year, and consulted whom to receive, or whom to exclud from their friendship, and choosed a Protector to themselves: And one of the conditions on which any City might be of this League, was, that they were free Towns: and therefore it was that some Towns in the *Netherlands* being of this League,



their Princes were by oath to confirm their freedom, otherwise they could not be comprehended within that League; the end whereof was to defend one another in any necessity they might fall in. Let these things then declare whither *Germany* be a Monarchy or not, and it will never prove the Emperor to be the Sovereign, because the Empire is feudal, and the Emperor gives the investitures to the Princes; for they are not the Feudatories of the Emperor, but of the Empire: and the Emperor by giving the Investiture becomes not their Lord: for in the Interregn of the Empire, the *Electors* of *Palatin* and *Saxe* are the Vicars of the Empire, and give the Investitures, who are not clothed with any authority over the rest, but only as they are the Vicars of the Empire, and not of the Emperor. And most of the Princes of *Italy* receive still their Investiture from the Emperor, but are far from concluding themselves his subjects upon that account. And who thinks the King of *Naples* the Popes subject, though he receive his Investiture in that Crown from him? These things being thus cleared, it will be evident that the wars betwixt *Charles* the 5. and the Duke of *Saxony*, will never be a precedent for subjects resisting their Sovereign. And having said so much, it will be to no purpose to examine the rise and progress of the *Smalcaldic* League,



League and war, only this much is clear, that the leaguings of the Princes and Cities together among themselves, or with other Princes, was not held contrary to the laws of the Empire: for after the *Smalcaldic* League, both the Emperor and other Kings, as *France* and *England*, treated with them, and sent Ambassadors to them: Yea, the Pope sent a *Nuncio* to the Elector of *Saxe*, and *Landgrave* of *Hessen* at *Smalcald*, and yet never were they accused by the Emperor for entering into that League of mutual defence: which shows it was not judged contrary to the duty of these Princes to affociat among themselves, or with others. And the City of *Strasburg*, and after them the *Landgrave* of *Hessen*, made a League with the *Switzer Cantons* that received the Reformation, for mutual defence against any invasion upon the account of Religion. At *Ausburg* the Emperor did on the 11. of *November* 1530. declare, that since the Protestants did reject the Decree made about Religion, he had entred in an agreement with the rest of the Diet, not to offend any, but to defend themselves, if any force were used against these who owned that Religion. And in the following *December* the Protestant Princes met at *Smalcald*, and made an agreement among themselves in the same strain: neither were they ever condemned for so doing, but continued in a good corre-



correspondence with the Emperor many years after that, till being invaded by the Duke of *Brunswick*, the war took its rise, which is all along proved to have been according to the Laws and Liberties of the Empire. And thus this case doth vary exceedingly from the matter of our debates.

*End.* If I may glean after your Harvest, I could add, that the Divines of *Germany* were notwithstanding of all the immunity of the Princes, and injuries they met with, very much against all warlike preparations. Many vestiges of this appear through *Melanctons* letters, particularly in his 71. Letter to *Camerarius* an. 1528. where he gives account of the inclinations many had to war, and with how much diligence he had studied to divert them from it, though great injuries had been done them; and that it was believed that many of the Princes had signed a conspiracy against them. And *Sculter Exer. Evang. lib. 2. cap. 5.* tells how *Grumbachius* and *Iustus Jonas* animated the Elector of *Saxe* to the war, assuring him of the Empire of *Germany*, if he would adventure for it: which, he adds, the Elector did: and his so doing, he compares to his throwing himself over the Pinnacle of the Temple: but all quickly repented them of the attempt, the Elector being defeated, taken, and kept prisoner many years,



years, and his ill Counsellors were well served for their advice, *Grumbachius* was quartered, and *Jonas* was beheaded. Thus you see how that war is censured by one of the best of the late *German* Divines. By this time, I think no scruples can dwell with any about the *German* war, and that it agrees with the case of a Prince defending his Religion and subjects, against the unjust invasion of another Prince, to whom he owes neither obedience nor subjection: and this will easily satisfy all that know either Law or History, whither the Author of the *Dialogues* deserved to be treated as his *Answerer* doth: But it is no new thing to find ignorants full of confidence, and cowards full of boastings.

*Isot.* But for *Sweden*, you yeeld it, and acknowledge, that because their King came against them in an unjust invasion, designing to subvert their Religion, they not only armed against him, and resisted him, but deposed him, and put his uncle in his place, then which nothing can be more express. See p. 441.

*Poly.* The design of the *Conformist* was to prove that the first Reformers did not teach the doctrine of subjects their resistance upon the account of Religion; but he meant not to make good all that followed after that: therefore lest the more inconsiderate when they heard of the States of *Sweden* their deposing of *Sigismund*,  
might



might have mistaken that, as he knows some have done, and confounded it with the Reformation, he gave the true account of that affair as it was: and it being seventy years after the Reformation was first brought thither, cannot be fastened on the Reformation. Besides the whole tract of the *Swedish History* proves, that the Estats, as they elected, so also coërced, and frequently deposed their Kings: and therefore *Bodin* reckons *Sweden* among these divided States, where the Supream Power lay betwixt the King and the Nobility: and tells how in his own time *Henry* King of *Sweden* having killed with his own hand, one that presented a petition to him, the States forced him to quite the Kingdom to his brother: and that he had been for seventeen years a prisoner when he wrote his *Books de Republica*: It being thus frequent in *Sweden* upon malversation, not only to resist, but to depose their Kings, it was no wonder if when *Sigismund* came against them with an army of *Polanders*, whose Sovereign he was not, (for none are so ignorant to think the King of *Poland* is a Sovereign) they resisted him: since that was a subjecting of *Sweden* to forreign force, and so did totally overturn the whole foundation of the Kingdom. But after all this, I may add, that *Charles* Duke of *Suderman*, was not too well reported of, for that abrogation of his  
Nephew



Nephew, it being generally imputed to his ambition. And thus you see upon how many accounts that action of the *Swedish* State will not serve your turn.

*Isot.* But these of *Zurich* resisted the other five Cantons, and being provoked by their injuries, they stopt the passages of victuals to them, upon which a war followed. As also at *Basel*, the people did maintain and assert the Reformation by armes against their Superiors, and brake the Images, and burnt them: they also made the Senat turn off some of their number who favored the Mass. See p. 443. 444.

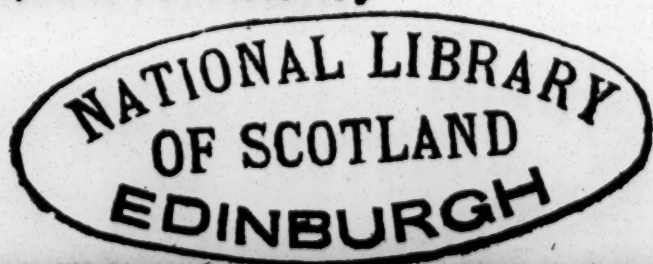
*Poly.* As for the war among the Cantons, it is undeniable that it was not of subjects against their Sovereigns, since the Cities of *Helvetia* have no dependance one upon another; nor can any one City be tyed to the opinion or decree of the rest, without their own consent: which shows that every Canton is a free State within its self, and therefore their warrings among themselves, makes nothing for subjects resisting of their Sovereigns. And what is alledged from the tumult of *Basel*, is as little to our purpose: for these free Cities being Democratical, it was no wonder if the people offended with the Senat, did raise that commotion: and the Historian expressly asserts, that what they did, they openly declared, was not for defence of Religion, but



but for vindicating of their own liberty. And in the end of the Story it appears what they designed, for they made the Senat receive 260. out of the Compagnies of the Citizens, whose counsel should be carried along in the greater concerns, that might be either for GODS glory, or the good of the Commonwealth. But if you lay claim to this Story as a precedent, you must acknowledge that a Reformation may be not only maintained by force, but that Magistrats may be removed from their Office, if they go not along with it; and that the people may in their own authority, without waiting for the Magistrats concurrence, go by violence and break down Images, and throw out an established Religion. But this belongs not to the case of subjects, since in these free Cities the Power is certainly with the people, and so they are not subjects to the Senat. And for *Geneve*, it is so fully proved, that it was a free Imperial City, that I need add nothing to make it out. One instance will abundantly suffice to prevail upon the belief of any who can doubt whither the Bishop of *Geneve* was their Prince, which is, that the Bishops of *Geneve* did frequently become Burgeses in it: In particular, *Peter de Baulm*, the last who sat there, was received a Citizen by the Senat of *Geneve* 15. July 1527. which doth fully prove that he could not be  
their



their Lord. But as for the Reformation of *Geneve*, it is true *Sleydan* hints as if the Bishop and Clergy had left the City, being angry at the Reformation: but in that he was mistaken, for their Bishop left the City *an.* 1528. and made war against it upon some disputes were betwixt him and them about their priviledges: for though he was not Lord of the City, yet the Countrey about it belonged to him. But *an.* 1533. he returned to the City, and left it in the *July* of the same year, fearing some seditious tumults, which he had the more reason to apprehend, because of his transactions with the Duke of *Savoy*, whereby he made over to him his interest in the City. And it was two years after this before the Reformation was received by that City. For after he left them, they passed a Decree for preserving the old Religion, and discharging of the *Lutheran*, and banished two of the Ministers of that Religion. And on the first of *January* 1534. after the Bishop was gone, his Vicar published an Edict, discharging all Assemblies for Divine Worship, without the Bishops permission; and all Bibles in the *French* or *German* tongues, were condemned to be burnt. And for the Duke of *Savoy* his invading them, and being resisted by them, it makes nothing for your design, this being a free Imperial City, resisting an unjust Invader. For all this see *Geneva restituta.* *Isot.*





*Isot.* But at least the States of the United Provinces did maintain their Religion by armes, when *Philip* the second was introducing the Inquisition among them: and though these wars were upon mixed grounds, so that Papists as well as Protestants concurred in them, yet it is undeniable that Religion gave the chief rise to them, and was the main consideration that engaged the Protestants into that war. See pag. 446.

*Poly.* One error runs through all your smatterings, which is, that you never distinguish betwixt a State governed by a Monarch, where subjection is due to him by the constitution of the State, and a limited Prince, who by the laws of that Society is accountable to, and censurable by the Nobility and people; which states so great a difference, that he must be very purblind who doth not observe it; And therefore I will first show you, that the Prince of the *Netherlands* was but a precarious Prince, governing a free people at their pleasure and precariously, as *Hemerus* and *Grotius de Ant. Reip. Batav.* call him: And among the Laws of the Government of *Batavia*, one was, that the old Customs and Laws should be sacred; and that if the Prince decreed ought against them, he was not to be obeyed: and so it was usual among them upon a transgression, to depose their Princes, of which  
many



many instances are reckoned by *Grotius*, and therefore he compares their Princes to the *Lacedemonian* Kings, upon whom the *Ephori* and the Senat might have cognosced. The *Brabantins* had indeed looked better to their liberty than the rest, and so had guarded against the deceit of their Princes (who might have broken their Laws upon the pretence of a publick good) by an expresse agreement, that if their Prince should violat the Laws, they should not be tyed to obedience nor fidelity to him, till their injuries were removed: and this was confirmed by the examples of their Ancestors, *Gr. An. lib. 2.* And a little after, he adds, That the other Provinces in *Belgium*, had by practise that same privilege, and that the rather, that being all united to *Brabant* by *Maximilian*, they were to enjoy the same privileges with them. The *Brabantins* had also a privilege of choosing a Conservator in any great hazard, called *Ruart*, *Strada tom. 1. lib. 9.* whose power was equal to the *Roman* Dictators: this they had by the privileges of the *Letus introitus*. And upon this they choosed the Prince of *Orange* their *Ruart*, anno 1577. And to run no further for proofs of this, when *Philip* was inaugurated their Prince, he expressly provided, that if he broke their privileges, they should be free from obedience and fidelity to him: and this was the  
I ground



ground on which they deposed him, as appears by their Decree, *St. tom. 2. lib. 4.* By these indications it is apparent, that the Prince of the *Netherlands* was not Sovereign of these Provinces, since they could cognosce upon him, and shake off his authority. But I shal next make out, that *Religion* was not the ground upon which these wars were raised: The Reformation came unto the Provinces in *Charles* the 5. his time, who cruelly persecuted all who received it, so that these who were butchered in his time, are reckoned not to be under 100000. *Gr. Annal. lib. 1.* All this cruelty did neither provoke them to armes, nor quench the spirit of Reformation; whereupon *Philip* designed to introduce the Inquisition among them, as an assured mean of extinguishing that light. But that Court was every where so odious, and proceeded so illegally, that many of the Nobility, among whom diverse were Papists, entred in a Confederacy against it, promising to defend one another, if endangered: Upon this, there were first Petitions, and after that tumults; but it went no further till the Duke of *Alva* came, and proceeded at the rate of the highest Tyranny imaginable, both against their lives and fortunes, particularly against the Counts of *Egmont* and *Horn*, suspect of favoring the former disorders. But (it being needless to make a vain show



show of reading in a thing which every boy may know.) after the Duke of *Alva* had so transgressed all limits, the Nobility and Deputies of the Towns of *Holland*, who were the Depositories of the Laws and Priviledges of that State, met at *Dort*, anno 1572. *Gr. de Ant. Bat. cap. 6.* and on the 19. *July* decreed a war against the Duke of *Alve*, and made the Prince of *Orange* their Captain, which was done upon his exacting the twentieth penny of their rents, and the tenth of their moveables, in all their transactions and merchandises. Yet all this while the Power was in the hands of Papists, *Gr. Anal. lib. 3.* Nor was the Protestant Religion permitted till the year 1578. that in *Amsterdam*, *Utrecht* and *Harlem*, the Magistrats who were addicted to the *Roman* Religion, were turned out, which gave great offence to some of their Confederats who adhered to Popery. And upon this the Protestants petitioned the Arch-Duke *Matthias*, whom the States had chosen for their Prince, that since it was known that they were the chief object of the *Spanish* hatred, and so might look for the hardest measure, if they prevailed: it was therefore just they who were in the chief danger, might now enjoy some share of the liberty with the rest, wherefore they desired they might have Churches allowed them, and might not be barred from publick

I 2                      trust,



trust, which after some debate was granted. And let this declare whither the war was managed upon the grounds of Religion, or not. The year after this, the States of *Holland*, *Geldres*, *Zeland*, *Utrecht*, and *Friesland*, met at *Utrecht*, and entred in that Union which continues to this day: by which it was provided, that the Reformed Religion should be received in *Holland* and *Zeland*, but the rest were at liberty, either to choose it or another, or both, as they pleased. So we see they did not confederat against *Spain* upon the account of Religion, it not being the ground of their League; but in opposition to the *Spanish* Tyranny and pride. And in their Letters to the Emperor 8, *January* 1578. *Str. tom. 2. lib. 2.* they declared, that they never were, nor ever should be of another mind, but that the Catholick Religion should be still observed in *Holland*: and in the end of the year 1581. they decreed, that *Philip* had forfeited his Title to the Principality of *Belgium*, by his violating their Priviledges, which he had sworn to observe: whereupon they were (according to their compact with him at his inauguration) free from their obedience to him; and therefore they choosed the Duke of *Alençon* to be their Prince. And now review all this, and see if you can stand to your former assertion, or believe these wars to have proceeded upon



upon the grounds of subjects resisting their Sovereign, when he persecutes them upon the account of Religion, and you will be made to acknowledge, that the States of *Holland* were not subjects, and that their quarrel was not Religion.

*Isot.* All this will perhaps be answered in due time: but from this let me lead you to *France*, where we find a long tract of Civil Wars upon the account of Religion, and here you cannot pretend the King is a limited Sovereign; neither was this war managed by the whole States of *France*, but by the Princes of the blood, with the Nobility of some of the Provinces; and these begun under *Francis* the second, then about sixteen years of age, so that he was not under non-age: and though they were prosecuted under the minority of *Charles* the 9. yet the King of *Navarre* who was Regent, and so bore the Kings authority, was resisted: and after *Charles* was of age, the wars continued, both during his reign, and much of his brothers, and did again break out in the last Kings reign. The Protestants were also owned and assisted in these wars, not only by the Princes of *Germany*, but by the three last Princes who reigned in *Britain*. So here we have an undeniable instance of subjects defending Religion by armes. See pag. 454.



*Poly.* I must again put my self and the company, to a new penance by this ill understood piece of History, which you have alledged: and tell you how upon *Henry* the seconds death, *Francis* his son, was under age by the *French* Law, (for which see *Thuan. lib. 16.*) which appointed the Regents power to continue till the King was 22. years of age at least, as had been done in the case of *Charles* the 6. which yet the History of that time saith, was a rare privilege, granted him because of his gracefulness, and the love was generally born him, whereas the year wherein the Kings were judged capable of the Government was 25. But *Francis* though under age being every way a child, did set away both the Princes of the blood, the Constable and the Admiral from the Government, which he committed to his Mother; the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, and the Duke of *Guise*. Upon this the Princes of the blood met, and sent the King of *Navarre* who was the first Prince of the blood, to the King, to complain of their ill usage: but though he was much neglected at Court, yet his simplicity was such, that he was easily whedled out of his pretensions. Upon this the Prince of *Condé* having a greater spirit and being poor, thought upon other courses, and as it is related by *Davila lib. 1.* gathered a meeting at *Ferté*, where he proposed the injury done



done the Princes of the blood, who in the minority of their King were now excluded the Government: which contrary to the *Salick* law, was put in a womans hand, and trusted to strangers: wherefore he moved that (according to the practises of other Princes of the blood, in the like cases, which he adduced) they might by arms make good their right, and assume the Government in the Kings minority. But the Admiral considering well the hardiness of the enterprise, said, that another way must be taken to make it succeed, which was, that since *France* was full of the followers of *Calvin*, who through the persecutions they had lyen under, were now almost desperat, and had a particular hatred at the brethren of *Lorraine* as their chief enemies, therefore it was fit to cherish them, and make a party of them, by which means assistance might be likewise hoped for from the Princes of *Germany*, and the Queen of *England*: and to this advice all present did yeeld. Upon this, saith *Thuan lib. 16.* many writings were published, proving the Government of the Kingdom in the Kings minority to belong to the Princes of the blood, and that by the Laws of *France*, the Regents power was not absolute, but to be regulated by the Assembly of the States, wherein many instances of the *French* Law were adduced: and whereas it was alledged that the King was major at 15.



which was proved from an Edi&t of *Charles* the fifth, this was fully refuted; and it was shewed that notwithstanding of the Edi&t of *Charles* the fifth, his son was not admitted to the Government till he was full 22. years of age, and that in his minority the Kingdom was governed by a Counsel of the Princes and Nobility, which was established by an Assembly of the States. I shal not medle further in the debate which was on both hands about the year of the Kings majority, or the power of the Princes of the blood in his minority, but shal refer the Reader to the sixth Book of the voluminous history of *France*, for that time, whose Author hath suppressed his name, where a full abstract of all the writings that passed on both sides about these matters is set down: but this shows how little your friends understand the History of that time, who take it for granted that *Francis* the second was then major, since it was the great matter in controversy. But to proceed in my accounts.

These grounds being laid down for a war, the Prince of *Condé*, as *Thuan* relates, would not openly own an accession to any design, till it should be in a good forwardness, but trusted the management of it to one *Renaudy*, who though a Catholick by his Religion, yet drew a great meeting of Protestants to *Nantes*, in the beginning of *February*, anno 1560. where he stirred them



them up to arm : and in his speech, after he had represented all the grievances, he added, that the greatest scruples that stuck with many, was the Kings authority, against which who so rose he did rebel : and he answered, acknowledging the obedience due to Kings, notwithstanding of their wicked Laws ; and that it was without doubt, that all who resisted the power constituted by GOD, resisted his Ordinance: but added, their resistance was of these Traitors, who having possessed themselves of the young King, designed the ruine both of King and Kingdom. This then will clear whither they walked on the principles of subjects resisting when persecuted by their Sovereign, or not.

Upon this they designed to have seized on the King, but as it was to be executed, though it had been long carried with a marvellous secrecy, it was at length discovered, and the King conveyed to *Amboise*: and as the Protestants were gathering to a head, the Kings forces came upon them, and defeated and scattered them. But a little after this the King died, in good time for the Prince of *Condé*; for his accession to these commotions being discovered, he was seized on and sentenced to death: but the Kings death as it delivered him, did also put an end to the questions about the Kings majority, his brother *Charles* the ninth being a child



child, so that the Regency was undoubtedly the King of *Navarre* his right: yet not so entirely but that the other Princes were to share with him, and the Assembly of the States to direct him, as the Lawyers proved from the *French Law*. The consultation about the Protestants took them long up, and a severe Edict passed against them in *July 1561*. But in the *January* of the next year a solemn meeting was called of all the Princes of the blood, the Privy Counsellors and the eighth Parliaments of *France*, in which the Edict of *January* was passed, giving the Protestants the free exercise of their Religion, and all the Magistrats of *France* were commanded to punish any who interrupted or hindred this liberty, which Edict you may see at length, *Hist. d' Aubig. lib. 2. cap. 32*. But after this, as *Davila lib. 3.* relates how the Duke of *Guise* coming to *Paris* did disturb a meeting of the Protestants, so that it went to the throwing of stones, with one of which the Duke was hurt, upon which he designed the breach of that Edict, and so was the Author and Contriver of the following wars. After this the Edict was every where violated, and the King of *Navarre* united with the Constable, and the Duke of *Guise* for the ruine of the Protestants: upon which the Prince of *Condé*, as the next Prince of the blood, asserted the Edicts, so that the Law was on his side: neither



ther was the Regents power absolute or Sovereign; and the Prince of Condé in his *Manifesto* declared, he had armed to free the King from that captivity these stranger Princes kept him in, and that his design was only to assert the authority of the late Edict, which others were violating. Upon this the wars begun, and ere the year was ended, the King of Navarre was killed: after which the Regency did undoubtedly belong to the Prince of Condé. And thus you see upon what grounds these wars began: and if they were after that continued during the majority of that same King, and his successors, their case in that was more to be pitied, then imitated: for it is known that wars once beginning, and jealousies growing strong, and deeply rooted, they are not easily settled.

And to this I shal add what a late Writer of that Church *Sieur d'Ormeigrigny* hath said for them, in his reflections on the 3. Chapter of the *Politiques of France*: wherein he justifies the Protestants of France from these imputations. What was done that way, he doth not justifie, but chargeth it on the despair of a lesser party among them, which was disavowed by the greater part. And shows how the first tumults in Francis the 2. his time, were carryed mainly on by *Renaudy* a Papist, who had associates of both Religions. He vindicats what followed from  
the



the interest the Princes of the blood had in the Government in the minority of the Kings. And what followed in *Henry* the 3. his time, he shows, was in defence of the King of *Navarre*, the righteous heir of the Crown, whom those of the League designed to seclude from his right. But after that *Henry* the 4. had settled *France*, he not only granted the Protestants free exercise of their Religion, but gave them some Towns for their security, to be kept by them for twenty years: at the end whereof, the late King remanding them, the Protestants were instant to keep them longer, to which he yeelded for three or four years: in end, he wisely determined (saith that Gentle-man) to take them out of their hands. Upon which they met in an Assembly at *Rochel*; and most imprudently; he adds; and against their duty, both to *G O D* and the King, they resolved to keep them still by force. But at that time there was a *National Synod* at *Alais*; where *M. du Moulin* presided; who searching into the posture of affairs in that Countrey, where many of these places of strength lay, he found the greater and better part inclined to yeeld them up to the King: upon which he wrote an excellent Letter to the *Assembly at Rochel*, dissuading them from pursuing the courses they were engaging in: where he shows, it was the general desire of their Churches, that it might please *G O D* to continue  
peace



peace by their giving obedience to the King : and since his Majesty was resolved to have these places in his own hands , that they would not on that account engage in a war. But that if persecution was intended against them, all who feared G O D desired it might be for the profession of the Gospel , and so be truly the cross of C H R I S T : and therefore assured them the greater and better part of their Churches desired they would dissolve their meeting , if it could be with security to their persons. And presses their parting from that Assembly , with many arguments and obviates what might be objected against it : And craves pardon to tell them , They would not find inclinations in those of the Religion to obey their resolutions, which many of the best quality , and greatest capacity avowedly condemned ; judging that to suffer on that account, was not to suffer for the cause of G O D. And therefore exhorts them to depend on G O D, and not precipitate themselves into ruine by their impatience. And he ends his Letter with the warmest and ferventest language imaginable for gaining them into his opinion. It is true , his Letter wrought not the desired effect , yet many upon it deserted the meeting. Upon the which that Gentle-man shows, that what was then done , ought not be charged on the Protestant Churches of France, since it was condemned by the National Synod of their Divines , and three parts of four who were  
of



of the Religion continued in their dutiful obedience to the King, without ingaging in armes with those of their party. *Amirald* also in his incomparable *Apology* for those of the *Reformed Religion*, *sect. 2.* vindicats them from the imputations of disloyalty to their Prince: and after he hath asserted his own opinion, that prayers and tears ought to be the only weapons of the Church, as agreeing best with the nature of the Gospel, and the practise of the first Christians, he adds his regrates, that their fathers did not crown their other vertues with invincible patience, in suffering all the cruelty of their persecutors without resistance, after the example of the Primitive Church, by which all color of reproaching the Reformation had been removed. Yet he shows how they held out during the reign of *Francis the first*, and *Henry the second*, notwithstanding of all the cruelty of the persecution, though their numbers were great. What fell out after that, he justifies, or rather excuses (for he saith, he cannot praise, but blame it) on the grounds we have already mentioned, of the minority of their Kings, and of the interest of the Princes of the blood. And for the business of *Renaudy* in *Francis the seconds* time, he tells how *Calvin* disapproved it: and observes from *Thuan*, that he who first discovered it was of the *Reformed Religion*, and did it purely from



from the dictat of his conscience. He also shows that the Protestants never made war with a common consent, till they had the Edicts on their side, so that they defended the Kings Authority, which others were violating. But adds withal, that the true cause of the wars, was reason of State, and a faction betwixt the houses of *Bourbon* and *Guise*: and the defence of the Protestants was pretended, to draw them into it. And for the late wars, he charges the blame of them on the ambition of some of their Grantees and the factious inclinations of the town of *Rochel*. And vindicats the rest of their Church from accession to them, whatever good wishes the common interest of their Religion might have drawn from them, for these whose danger they so much apprehended. And for the affairs of our *Britain*, which was then in a great combustion, for which the Protestants were generally blamed, as if the Genius of their Religion led to an opposition of Monarchy, he saith, strangers could not well judge of matters so remote from them; but if the King of *England* was by the constitutions of that kingdom a Sovereign Prince (which is a thing in which he cannot well offer a decision) then he simply condemns their raising a war against him, even though that report which was so much spread of his design to change the Reformed Religion settled there, were



were true. Neither are these opinions of *Amirald* to be looked on as his privat thoughts ; but that Apology being published by the approbation of these appointed to licence the books of the Religion, is to be received as the more common and received doctrine of that Church.

And whatever approbation or assistance the neighboring Princes might have given the Protestants in the latter or former wars, it will not inferr their allowing the precedent of subjects resisting their Sovereign, though persecuted by him, since it is not to be imagined many Princes could be guilty of that. But the maxims of Princes running too commonly upon grounds very different from the rules of conscience, and tending chiefly to strengthen themselves, and weaken their neighbors, we are not to make any great account of their approving or abetting of these wars. And thus far you have drawn from me a great deal of discourse for justifying the *Conformists* design of vindicating the Reformed Churches from the doctrine and practise of subjects resisting their Sovereign, upon pretexts of Religion.

*Isot.* A little time may produce an answer to all this, which I will not now attempt, but study these accounts more accuratly. But let us now come home to *Scotland*, and examine whether the King be an accountable Prince, or not? You know



know well enough how *Fergus* was first called over by the *Scots*, how many instances there are of the States their coërcing the King, how the King must swear at his Coronation to observe the Laws of the Kingdom, upon which allegiance is sworn to him, so that if he break his part, why are not the subjects also free, since the compact seems mutual? I need not add to this, that the King can neither make nor abrogate Laws, without the consent of the Estates of Parliament, that he can impose no tax without them. And from these things it appears that the King of *Scotland* is a limited King, who as he originally derived his power from their choice, so is still limited by them, and liable to them. All which is at large made out by the Author of *Jus populi*.

*Basil.* Now you are on a rational point, which I acknowledge deserves to be well discussed, for if by the Laws of *Scotland* the King be lyable to his people, then their coërcing him will be no rebellion. But this point is to be determined not from old stories, about which we have neither record, nor clear account for giving light how to direct our belief, nor from some tumultuary practises, but from the Laws and Records of the Kingdom: and here the first word of our Laws gives a shrewd indication that the Kings power is not from the people, (which is *anno*



1004. according to Sir John Skeens collection of them :) King *Malcome* gave and distributed all his lands of the Realm of Scotland among his men, and reserved nothing in property to himself but the Royal dignity, and the Mute-hill in the Town of Scone.

Now I dare appeal to any person whither this be not the style of a Sovereign, and if this prove not the Kings title to the Crown to be of another nature, then that of a voluntary compact? The next vestige is to be found in the Books of *Regiam Majestatem*, held to be published by King *David* the first, anno 1124. and declared authentical by following Parliaments, where the third verse of the Preface is, *That our most glorious King having the Government of the Realm, may happily live both in the time of peace and of warfare, and may rule the Realm committed to him by GOD, who hath no Superior but the Creator of heaven and earth, ruler over all things, &c.* And let the plain sense of these words tell whither the King of Scotland, hath his power from the people, and whither he be accountable to any but to GOD? It is also clear that all were bound to follow the King to the wars, and punishment was decreed against these who refused it, see the Laws of *Alexander* the second cap. 15. and *fac. 1. Parl. 1. cap. 4. fac. 2. p. 13. cap. 57.* And this shows they were far from allowing  
war



war against the King. The Parliaments were also originally the Kings Courts, at which all his Vassals were bound to appear personally, and give him counsel, which proving a burden to the small Barons, they were dispenced with for their appearance in Parliament, 1. *fac. Parl.* 7. *cap.* 101. which shows that the coming to the Parliament was looked on in these dayes rather as an homage due to the King, then a privilege belonging to the subjects, otherwise they had been loath to have parted with it so easily. And 2. *fac.* 6. *Parl.* *cap.* 14. *It is ordained that none rebel against the Kings person nor his authority, & whoso makes such rebellion is to be punished after the quality & quantity of such rebellion by the advice of the three Estats. And if it happens any within the Realm openly or notourly to rebel against the King, or make war against the Kings liedges, against his forbidding; in that case the King is to gang upon them with assistance of the hail lands, & to punish them after the quantity of the trespass.* Here see who hath the Sovereign power, and whither any may take arms against the Kings command: and the 25. *chap.* of that same Parliament defines the points of Treason. It is true by that Act these who assault castles, or houses where the Kings person was, without the consent of the three Estates, are to be punished as Traitors: From which one may infer that the Estates may besiege the King; but it is



clear that was only a provision against these who in the minority of the Kings used to seize upon their persons, and so assumed the Government: and therefore it was very reasonable that in such a case provision should be made, that it were not treason for the Estates to come and besiege a place where the Kings person were for recovering him from such as treasonably seized on him. And this did clearly take its rise from the confusions were in that Kings minority, whom sometimes the Governor, sometimes the Chancellor got into their keeping, & so carried things as they pleased having the young King in their hands. The King is also declared to have full jurisdiction and free Empire within his Realm, 3. *Jac. Parl. 5. cap. 30.* And all along it is to be observed that in asserting his Majesties *Prerogative Royal*, the phrases of *asserting* and *acknowledging*, but never of *giving* or *granting*, are used, so that no part of the Kings Prerogative is granted him by the Estates, and *Jac. 6. Parl. 8. cap. 129.* his Majesties Royal power and authority over all Estates, as well spiritual as temporal, within the Realm, is ratified, approved, and perpetually confirmed in the person of the Kings Majestie his heirs and successors. And in the 15. *Parl.* of that same King, *chap. 251.* these words are, *Albeit it cannot be denyed but his Majestie is a free Prince,*  
of



of a Sovereign power, having as great liberties and prerogatives by the Laws of this Realm and privilege of his Crown, and Diadem, as any other King, Prince, or Potentat whatsoever. And in the 18. Parl. of the same King, Act 1. The Estates and whole body of that present Parliament, all in one voluntar, faithful and united heart, mind and consent, did truly acknowledge his Majesties Sovereign authority, Princely power, Royal Prerogative, and privilege of his Crown over all Estates, Persons and causes within his said Kingdom. By this time I suppose it is past debate, that by the tract of the whole Laws of Scotland, his Majestie is a Sovereign unaccountable Prince, since nothing can be devised more expresse then are the Acts I have cited. For what you objected from the Coronation Oath, remember what was said a great while ago, that if by the Coronation the King got his power, so that the Coronation Oath, and Oath of Allegiance were of the nature of a mutual stipulation, then you might with some reason infer that a failing of the one side, did free the other; but nothing of that can be alledged here, where the King hath his Authority, how soon the breath of his Father goes out, and acts with full Regal power before he be crowned; so that the Coronation is only a solemn inauguration in that which is already his right. Next, let me tell you, that the Kings swearing



at his Coronation, is but a late practise; and so the title of the Kings of Scotland to the Crown, is not upon the swearing of that Oath: And here I shal tell you all that I can find in our Laws of the Kings swearing or promising. The first instance that meets me is *chap. 17. of the Statuts of King Robert the second*, where these words are, *For fulfilling and observing of all the premises, the King so far as concerns him in his Parliament, hath obliged himself in the word of a Prince, and his son the Earl of Carriēt (afterwards Robert the third) being constituted by the King for fulfilling of the premises, so far as touches him, gave and made his Oath, the holy Evangelis being touched by him, and then the States of Parliament did also swear to maintain the Earl of Carriēt, made then Lieutenant under the King.* Now the reason why these mutual Oaths were then given, is well known, since the Kings succession was so doubtful. But after that, no Oath seems to have been given: & though King James the second his Coronation be set down in the Records of Parliament, there is not a word of an Oath given by any in his name. It is true in the *11. Parl. of that King, cap. 41.* for securing of the Crown-lands from being alienated, it is appointed, *That the King who then was, should be sworn; and in like manner all his successors Kings of Scotland into their Coronation, to the keeping of that Statut*



*Statut, and all the points thereof.* But this is not such an Oath as you alledge. Likewise in King James the fourth his reign, 2. *Parl. chap. 12.* where the Counsell was sworn, it is added, *And our Sovereign Lord hath humbled his Highness to promit and grant in Parliament, to abide and remain at their Counsels while the next Parliament.* But it is to be observed, the King was then but 17. years old, and so not of full age: this promise was also a temporary provision. Besides, the very style of it shows, that it was below his Majesty to be so bound. But the first Act for a Coronation Oath I can meet with, is *Cap. 8. of the 1. Parl. of King James the sixth, anno 1567.* where the style wherein the Act runs, shows it was a new thing, it bearing no narrative of any such former custom: the words of the Act are, *Item, because that the increase of vertue and suppressing of Idolatry craves, that the Prince and the people be of one perfect Religion, which of GODS mercy is now presently professed within this Realm; Therefore it is statute and ordained by our Sovereign Lord, my Lord Regent, and the three Estates of this present Parliament, that all Kings and Princes, or Magistrates whatsoever, holding their place, which hereafter may happen to reign, and bear rule over this Realm, at the time of their Coronation, and receipt of their Princely authority, make their faithful promise by oath, &c.* Now you see the beginning of the



Coronation Oath, and I need not here reflect on the time when that Act passed, it being so obvious to every one. But I suppose it is made out, that the Kings of *Scotland* have not their authority from any stipulation used at their Coronation. The next thing you alledge to prove the King of *Scotland* a limited Prince, is, because he must govern by laws, which cannot be enacted without the authority of the three Estates in Parliament: But this will not serve turn, unless you prove that the Estates can cognosce on the King, and coërce him if he transgress: for which there is not a title in our Laws. I acknowledge the constitution of Parliaments to be both a rational and excellent model, and that the King becomes a Tyrant when he violates their Priviledges, and governs without Law: But though his Ministers who serve him in such tyrannical ways are lyable to punishment by the Law, yet himself is subject to none but GOD. And from our Kings their Justice and goodness in governing legally by the Counsels of their Parliaments, you have no reason to argue against their absolut authority; for their binding themselves to such rules, and being tyed to the observance of Laws enacted by themselves, will never overthrow their authority, but rather commend it, as having such a temperature of Sovereignty, Justice, and goodness in it.

*Isot.*



*Isot.* But was not King *James* the third resisted and killed in the field of *Striveling*, and afterwards in his sons first *Parl. Act.* 14. all who were against him in that field, were declared innocent, and his slaughter was declared to be his own fault, which was never rescinded? As also *Cap.* 130. of *Jac.* 6. *Parl.* 8. the honor and authority of Parliament upon the free vote of the three *Estats* thereof is asserted? And are not you an impugner of the authority of the three *Estats*, who plead thus for the Kings Sovereign Power? See *Answer to the Letter written to the Author of Jus Populi.*

*Basil.* I shal not engage far in the Story of King *James* the third, which even as it is represented by *Buchanan*, lib. 11. (no friend to Monarchy) is very far from being justifiable on the side of those who fought against him: nor was it the least part of their guilt, that they forced his son, being then but fifteen years old, to own their rebellion: And what wonder was it, that they who had killed the father, and kept his son in their power, passed such an *Act* in their own favors? But King *James* the fourth quickly discovered what a sincere Penitent he was for his accession to that Rebellion, as appeared by the iron belt he wore all his life, as a penance for this sin: yet the meekness of his spirit, and the power of that faction, made that things



things continued in the posture they formerly were in. It is true, that Act was not expressly repelled, which perhaps was not safe at that time to have attempted: but it was really done by his Revocation ratified in his 6. *Parl. cap. 100.* wherein with consent of the three Estates, *He annuls and revokes all Statuts and Acts of Parliament which he had enacted in his former years, that tended either to the prejudice of the Catholick Church, his soul, or of the Crown, declaring them to have no force, but to be deleted, and cancelled out of the books.* And it is not to be doubted, but in this he had an eye to that former Act: but for your Act asserting the authority of Parliament, look but what immediatly preceeds it, and you will find the Kings Authority and Supremacy fully established: and I acknowledge, that whosoever impugnes the authority of Parliament, as the Kings Great Counsel, doth incur a very high punishment; but this will never prove an Authority in the States to coërce and resist the King. One thing I must mind you of from that Act, which is, *That none of the Ledges must presume to impugn the dignity and authority of the saids three Estates, or to seek or procure the innovation, or diminution of the Power and Authority of the same three Estates, or any of them in time coming, under the pain of treason.* And can you be so ignoraut of our Laws, as not to know that the Church  
was



was one of these Estates : for the smal Barons which some called the third Estate, came not in till three years after? *Jac. 6. Parl. 11. cap. 113.* And now from all these premises, I think we may fairly inferr with *Sir John Skeen*, Title 8. of the heads of our Laws drawn up by him, *That all Jurisdiction stands and consists in the Kings person by reason of his Royal Authority and Crown, and is competent to no subject, but flows and proceeds from the King, having supream Jurisdiction, and is given and committed by him to such subjects as he pleases.*

*End.* I must confess my self pleased with this discussion of these points you have been tossing among you : and though I have sate silent, yet I have followed the threed of all your discourse with much close attention ; and was mightily confirmed in my former perswasion, both by the evidence of Reason, the authorities of Scripture, and these instances of History were adduced. But there are many other things yet to be talked of, though I confess this be of the greatest importance : and the satisfaction I have received in this, makes me long to hear you handle the other matters in debate.

*Phil.* I suppose we have forgot little that belonged to this question : but for ingaging further at this time, I have no mind to it, it being so long passed midnight : we shal therefore  
give



give some truce to our debates , and return upon the next appointment.

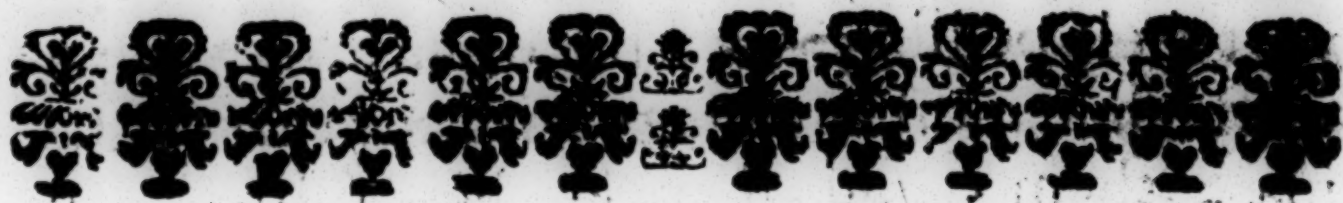
*End.* I were unworthy of the kindness you shew me, did I importune you too much : but I will presume upon your friendship for me, to expect your company to morrow at the same hour you did me the favor to come here to day.

*Ifot.* I shal not fail to keep your hour, though I be hardly beset in such a croud of Assailants; but truth is on my side, and it is great , and shal prevail , therefore good night to you.

*Basil.* I see you are not shaken out of your confidence for all the foils you get , yet our next dayes discourse will perhaps humble you a little more ; but I referr this to the appointment wherein we hope to meet again , and so, Adieu.

*End.* Adieu , to you all, my good friends.





# THE SECOND CONFERENCE.

*Endaimon.*



YOU are again welcome to this place, and so much the more, that your staying some minutes later than the appointment, was making me doubt of your coming: and indeed this delay proved more tedious, and seemed longer to me than the many hours were bestowed on your yesterdays conference: but me thinks, *Isotimus*, your looks, though never very serene, have an unusual cloud upon them; I doubt you have been among the *Brother-hood*, whom your ingenuous relation of what passed here, hath offended. Their temper is pretty well known to us all, some of them being *as the pestilence that walketh in darkness*, in corners, with the no less zealous, but scarcely more ignorant, *sister-hood*, they vent



vent their pedling stuff; but of all things in the world shun most to engage with any that can unmask them, and discover their follies. And their safest way of dealing with such persons is, to laugh at them, or solemnly to pitty them with a disdainful brow. And that is the best refutation they will bestow on the solideest reason, or if any of them yelp out with an answer, sense or non-sense, all is alike; the premises are never examined, only if the conclusion be positively vouched, as clearly proven from Scriptures and reason, the sentence is irreversibly past, and you may as soon bow an oak of an hundred years old, as deal with so much supercilious ignorance. Tell plainly, have you been in any such company?

*Isot.* What wild extravagant stuff powr you out on better men then your self? but I pitty your ignorance who know not some of these precious Worthies, whose shoe latches you are not worthy to unloose. But the truth is, you have got me here among you, and bait me by turns, either to ease your own galls, or to try mine; yet it is needless to attempt upon me, for as I am not convinced by your reasons, so I will not be behind with you in reflections: and I will crow and fight both, as a cock of the game.

*Bas.* Hold, hold, for these serve to no use but to  
ranckle



rankle peevish humors, I will therefore engage you in another subject about the Civil Authority, which our yesterdaies debate left untouched; which is *the obedience due to their Commands: let us therefore consider how far subjection obligeth us to obey the laws of the Civil Powers.*

*Isot.* Had you not enough of that yesterday? Is it not enough that the Magistrat be not resisted? but will not that serve turn with you? or do you design that we surrender our consciences to him, and obey all his Laws, good or bad, and follow *Leviathans* doctrine of embracing the Magistrats faith without enquiry? which is bravely asserted by the *Author of Ecclesiastical Policy*. This is indeed to make the King in GODS stead, and to render *Cesar* the things that are GODS, which is a visible design either for Popery or Atheism.

*Philar.* Truly, Sir, you consider little, if you judge submission to the penalties of the Laws, to be all the duty we owe Superiors. It is true, where the Legislators leave it to the subjects choice, either to do a thing enacted, or to pay a fine; in that case, obedience is not simply required; so that he who pays the mulct, fulfills his obligation. But where a Law is simply made, and obedience enjoined, and a penalty fixed on disobedience, in that case, nothing but the sinfulness of the command can  
excuse



excuse our disobedience: neither can it be said, that he sins not who is content to submit to the punishment, since by the same method of arguing you may prove that such horrid Atheists, as say they are content to be damned, do not sin against GOD, since they are willing to submit to the threatned punishment. The right of exacting our obedience is therefore to be distinguished from the power of punishing our faults. And as we have already considered how far the latter is to be acquiesced in, it remains to be examined what is due to the former. But here I lay down for a principle, *That whatever is determined by the Law of GOD, cannot be reversed, nor countermanded by any humane Law*: For the Powers that are, being ordained of GOD, and they being his Ministers, do act as his Deputies: and the ty which lyes on us to obey GOD, being the foundation of our subjection to them, it cannot bind us to that which overthrows its self: Therefore it is certain GOD is first to be obeyed; and all the Laws of men which contradict his Authority or Commands, are null, and void of all obligation on our obedience: but I must add, it is one of the arts of *you know whom*, to fasten tenets on men who judge these tenets worthy of the highest *Anathema*. For if it be maintained, that the Magistrat can bind obligations on our consciences, then



then it will be told in every Conventicle, that here a new tyranny is brought upon souls, which are G O D S prerogative, though this be nothing more then to say we ought *to be subject for conscience sake.* If again it be proved that the determining of the externals of Government or Worship, falls within the Magistrats Sphere, then comes in a new complaint, and it is told, that here Religion is given up to the lusts and pleasure of men, though it be an hundred times repeated, that command what the King will in prejudice of the divine Law, no obedience is due. If again it be proved that Church Judicatories, in what notions soever, are subjects, as well as others, and no less tyed to obedience then others; upon this come in vehement outcries, as if the Throne and Kingdom of CHRIST were over-turned and betrayed, with other such like expressions in their harsh style. What is become of mankind and of Religion, when ignorants triumph upon these barren pretences, as if they were the only Masters of reason, and directors of conscience? You know what my temper is in most differences: but I acknowledge my mind to be full of a just disdain of these ignorant, and insolent Pedlers; which is the more enflamed, when I consider the ruines, not only of sound learning; but of true piety, and the common rules of humanity,

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which follow these simple contests they make about nothing.

*Basil.* To speak freely, I cherish reflections no where, therefore I shal not conceal my dislike of these invectives, which though I am forced to confess, are just; yet I love to hear truth and peace pleaded for with a calm serene temper: and though the intolerable and pievish railings of these Pamphlets do justify a severe procedure, yet I would have the softer and milder methods of the Gospel used, that so we may *overcome evil with good.* To take you therefore off that angry engagement, let me invite you to a sober examen of the Magistrats authority in things divine. But before this be engaged in, let it be first considered whither there be any Legislative Power on earth about things sacred: and next, with whom it is lodged.

*Isot.* I will so far comply with your desires, that for this once without retaliating, I quite to *Philarcheus* the last word of scolding. But to come to the purpose you have suggested, consider that CHRIST hath given us a compleat rule, wherein *are all things that pertain to life and godlineß.* It is then an imputation on his Gospel, to say any thing needs be added to it, and that it contains not a clear direction for all things; therefore they accuse his wisdom or goodness, who pretend to add to his Laws, and wherein  
he



he hath not burdened our consciences : what tyranny is it to bind *a yoke upon us which our Fathers were not able to bear* ? Whereby as our Christian liberty is invaded , so innumerable Schismes and scandals spring from no other thing so much , as from these oppressions of conscience, which are so much the more unjust, that the imposers acknowledging their indifference , and the refusers scrupuling their lawfulness , the peace of the Church is sacrificed to what is acknowledged indifferent : neither can any bounds be fixed to those impositions ; for if one particular may be added , why not more and more still, till the yoke become heavier then that of *Moses* was ? which is made out from experience : For the humor of innovating in divine matters having once crept into the Church, it never stopt till it swelled to that prodigious bulk of Rites , under which the *Roman Church* lyes oppressed. And besides all these general considerations , there is one particular against significant Rites , which is , that the instituting of them in order to a particular signification of any grace, makes them Sacraments , according to the vulgar definition of Sacraments, that they are the outward signes of an inward grace: but the instituting of Sacraments , is by the confession of all, a part of **CHRIST S** prerogative, since he who confers grace, can only institut the



signes of it. Upon all these accounts, I plead the rule of Scripture to be that which ought to determine about all divine matters, and that no binding Laws ought to be made in divine things wherein we are left at liberty by GOD, who is the only Master of our consciences. See from pag. 172. to pag. 180.

*Phil.* You have now given me a full broad-side, after which I doubt not but you triumph as if you had shattered me all to pieces: but I am afraid you shal find this volley of chained ball hath quite missed me, & that I be aboard of you ere you be aware. No man can with more heartiness acknowledge the compleatness of Scripture then my self: and one part of it is, that all things which tend to order, edification and peace be done, and the scene of the world altering so, that what now tends to advance order, edification, and peace, may afterwards occasion disorder, destruction and contention, the Scripture had not been compleat, if in these things there were not an authority on earth, to make and unmake Laws in things indifferent. I acknowledge the adding of new pieces of worship, hath so many inconveniencies hanging about it, that I should not much patronize it; but the determining of what may be done, either in this or that fashion to any particular rule, is not of that nature: Therefore, since Worship must be  
in



in a certain posture, a certain habit, in a determinat place, and on such times, all these being of one kind; Laws made about them upon the accounts of order, edification, or peace, do not pretend to prejudge the perfection of Scripture, by any additions to what it prescribes, since no new thing is introduced: Indeed did humane Law-givers pretend that by their Laws these things became of their own nature more acceptable to G O D, they should invade G O D S prerogative; but when they are prescribed only upon the account of decency and order, it is intolerable pievishness to call a thing indifferent of its nature, unlawful, because commanded: For the Christian liberty consists in the exemption of our consciences from all humane yolk, but not of our actions, which are still in the power of our Superiors, till they enjoyn what is sinful, and then a greater then they is to be obeyed. I acknowledge, the simplicity of the *Christian Religion* is one of its chief glories, nothing being enjoyned in it but what is most properly fitted for advancing the souls of men towards that wherein their blessedness doth consist: And therefore I never reflect without wonder, on that censure *Ammian Marcellin*, a Heathen Writer, gives of *Constantius*, That he confounded the *Christian Religion*, which was of its self pure and simple, with doting superstitions.



So I freely acknowledge that whosoever introduce new parts of Worship, as if they could commend us to GOD, do highly encroach on GODS authority, and mans liberty. But as for the determining of things that may be done in a variety of wayes into one particular form, such as the prescribing a set form for Worship, the ordering the posture in Sacraments, the habit in Worship, determinat times for commemorating great mercies, the time how long a sinner must declare his penitence, ere he be admitted to the use of the Sacraments, and the like (which is all in question among us) they are quite of another nature. And it is a strange piece of nicety, if in these things, because Superiors command what seems most proper for expressing the inward sense we ought to have of things, that therefore these injunctions become criminal, and not to be obeyed. For the significancy alledged to be in them, is only a dumb way of expressing our inward thoughts; and as we agree to express them by words, so some outward signes may be also used: as by sackcloth the penitent expresseth his sorrow, and by a surplice a Church-man expresseth his purity; so those habits are only a silent way of speaking out the sense of the heart. Only here on the way, if you have a mind to ease your spleen a little, read what that late Pamphlet  
faith



faith, to prove a distinction betwixt these two ceremonies, *Pag.* 111. That vulgar Sophism of making Sacraments, is the poorest cavil imaginable: for a Sacrament is a federal Rite of stipulating with GOD, wherein as we plight our faith to GOD, so he visibly makes offer of his Gospel to us, which he accompagnies with the gracious effusions of his Spirit: and indeed to institut any such Rite, were the highest encroachment on the divine Authority: But what Sophistry wili fasten a pretension to this on the institution of a Rite, which shal only signifie that duty a creature owes his Maker and Redeemer, tending both to quicken the person that performes it to a sense of it, as also to work upon Spectators by such a grave solemn Rite? To say men can institut means of conveying the divine grace, is justly to be condemned; but how far differs it from that, to use signes, as well as words, for expressing our duty to GOD? Thus you see how ill founded that pompous argument is, with which we have heard many triumphing among ignorants, or where none could contradict them.

*Crit.* If I may have liberty to add a little, I would suggest somewhat of the true notion of *Christian Liberty*, and how it is to be made use of, or restrained. For the clearing whercof, we are to call to mind how upon the first promulgation



of the Gospel, a contention did early rise about the observation of *Moses Law*, the stipulation whereto was given in Circumcision; the *Judaizers* pleaded its continuance, and the *Apostles* asserted the *Christian Liberty*: the *Judaizers* pretended a divine obligation from *Moses his Law*; the *Apostles* proved that was now vacated by the death of CHRIST, which freed all from that yolk, and that therefore to be circumcised, as a stipulation to *Moses Law*, was to continue subject to that yolk, and so to deny the *Messias* was yet come, by which CHRIST should profit them nothing. But the authority of *Paul* and *Barnabas* not being great enough to settle that question, they were sent from *Antioch* to the *Apostles*, and *Presbyters* at *Jerusalem*, who determined against the necessity of Circumcision, and consequently of the observation of the *Mosaical Law*, and appointed that these who were proselyted from *Gentilism* to the *Christian Faith*, should be received, not as *Proselytes of Justice*, but as *Proselytes of the Gates*, who were only bound to obey the seven Precepts of the sons of *Noah*; which I stand not to make out, it being sufficiently cleared already by others. Here then the *Christian Liberty* was stated in an exemption from the *Law of Moses*. But for all this, we see into what compliances the *Apostles* consented, for gaining upon the  
*Jews*



*Jews* by that condescension, they circumcise, they purifie (which was done by sprinkling with the ashes of the red Cow) they take the vows of *Nazarism*, they keep the Feasts at *Jerusalem* (which I wonder how that Pamphleter could deny, *Pag.* 301. it being mentioned expressly, *Acts* 18. 21.) and upon the whole matter *S. Paul* gives the following rules and assertions.

The first was, that these things did not commend a man to *G O D*: *For the Kingdom of G O D consisted not in meat and drink*, (which clearly relates to the *Mosaical* differencing of meats, clean an unclean) *that neither circumcision, nor uncircumcision availed any thing.* And if neither branch of that' controverſie did of its own nature commend men to *G O D*; what judgements may we paſs on our trifling wranglings? Whence we may infer, that we ought to instruct all *Christians in the Faith*, but not in these doubtful disputations.

The next assertion is, that even in these matters men might be acceptable to *G O D*; on which ſide ſoever they were, ſo they judged what they did was done to *G O D*. He that made diſtinction of days, or meats, *made it to the L O R D*: and he that regarded them not to the *L O R D*, he regarded them not. So that *G O D* may be acceptably ſerved by ſeveral men  
doing



doing things contrary one to another.

Another rule is, that in these things every man must be fully perswaded in his own mind, and proceed out of a clear conviction in his conscience.

A fourth rule is, that in these matters none ought to prescribe or dictate to another: such as had a liberty in them, were not to despise the scrupulous, as unreasonable; neither were these who scrupled at them, to judge such as acted in a higher Sphere of liberty, as profane or licentious: so that all were to be remitted to *G O D S Judgement Seat.*

Another rule is, that for *the Peace of the Church*, many things which are otherwise subject to great inconveniencies, may be done for the gaining our brethren: but if such compliance harden people in their imperious humor, what was formerly to be done for gaining upon them, becomes unfit when so abused by them: and therefore if after we have complied with the weak exceptions of others, in matters indifferent, they become so hardy as to presume upon our goodness to invade our liberty, by enjoying such things as necessary, pretending to an authority over us; *we are not to give place by subjection to such, no not for an hour.*

The last rule is, that in matters of indifference, we are to postpone our own inclinations or desires



desires, when the hazard of our brothers stumbling, or of the peace of the Church lyes in our way.

All these are so clearly asserted by *S. Paul*, and withall are so opposit to our present heats, that I wish they were more minded by the troublers of our *Israel*, and they would certainly give a speedy decision to these feuds about doubtful disputatiōs which have so long preyed on the *Peace of the Church*.

*Basil*. And I am sure if so great a compliance may be given to the weakness of our brethren, much more is due to the commands of our Superiors; except you say, we are more subject to equals then to Superiors, or that the weakness of a brother should weigh more then the authority of a father: And in fine, that the obligations of *Charity* should be more prevalent then those of *Justice*; *Obedience* being a debt we owe, whereas *Compliance* is a benevolence given. I do not deny but great caution and tenderness must be used in making of such Laws, and that their fitness for attaining the ends of *order*, *edification* and *peace*, should be well considered, and they no longer adhered to, then these effects can be drawn from them: so that if the nature of circumstances which vary all things indifferent, come to change, the same reason that exacted their being first imposed, will plead a change.



change. I also acknowledge, that great abuse hath followed upon the innovating and prescribing in *divine matters*, and that nothing hath occasioned more *divisions among Christians*, then the overstraining an *uniformity*. But if because of abuses you over-turn all *Legislative Power* in matters sacred, nothing that is humane shal scape your fury, since every thing is subject to abuse. And nothing will curb ones career till he turn *Quaker*, that follows these maxims. But one thing is still forgotten, that the *dictats of Reason* are in their kind the *voyce of G O D*; reason being nothing, save an impress of the Image of G O D on the soul of man; which because much obliterated by the fall, was to be supplied by revelation: but wherein it remains clear, its directions not contradicting any positive or revealed Law, are still to be followed as the Laws of G O D.

*Poly.* For proving all this, I shal not run so far back as to examine the nature of the *Priest-hood*, and *Sacrifices* were before *Moses*, to consider whither these flowed from a *revelation* conveyed by *tradition*, or from the *dictats of reason*? But after *Moses* his Law was given, wherein all was modelled by *divine prescript*, yet what a vast heap of *additions* did flow upon that worship before our Saviors days, all that have written on the Temple-service do abundantly discover.

Here



Here is a field spacious enough for any that designed a vain show of much reading, but a view of *Doctor Lightfoots Temple-service* will quickly convince any, that the whole service of the Temple was interpalated by many additions, whose first Author cannot be traced. They also used *Baptism* to all were profelyted from *Gentilism*. And in the *Paschal festivity* alone, how many new Rites do we find? Every school-boy may know that they had a dish, called *Charafeth*, which was a thick sawce of Dates, Figs, Almonds, &c. pounded together, which looked like clay, to mind them of the clay in which their Fathers wrought in *Egypt*, which was a significative ceremony; and was the dish wherein they dipped their hand, which we find was not wanting in our **LORDS** Pasover; which proves significant Rites, though of humane appointment, cannot be criminal. And if to this I should add the several cups of wine, the diverse removes of the Table; and covering it of new, the frequent washing of their hands, and diverse other things, I should grow tedious. But our **LORD** never reproves these things; nay, on the contrary he symbolized with them. It is true, when their zeal for their *traditions* made them break the *Commandments of GOD*, or adhere so stiffly to them, as to judge the consciences of such as did not comply with them in the



the use of them, then he checks their hypocri-  
sie, and accuses them, not for the use of these  
things, but because they placed all Religion in  
them, and imposed the Precepts of men as do-  
ctrines. To this I might add the whole frame  
of the *Synagogues*, both as to *Government*, *Disci-  
plin* and *Worship*: for whatsoever scrapes may  
be brought which may seem to prove there were  
*Synagogues* before the captivity, which yet is  
much controverted; yet the form of *government*  
in them, the rules of *excommunication*, and its de-  
grees, together with their *Philacteries*, and set  
*forms of worship*, will never be proved from *Scripture*.  
Now since the *Law of GOD* was no  
less perfect in the *Old Dispensation*, then the  
*Gospel* is now, it will follow that *additions* in  
things purely external and ritual, do no way de-  
tract from the Word of *GOD*: For nothing  
can be brought to prove the *New Testament* a  
compleat rule for *Christians*, which will not  
plead the same full authority to the *Old Testa-  
ment*, during that *Dispensation*; since though the  
*Dispensation* was imperfect, yet the revelation  
of *GOD* to them was able to make them perfect  
and thoroughly furnished for every good work: and  
the *Scriptures* which *S. Paul* saith, were able to  
make wise to salvation, can be no other then  
the *Old Testament writings*. For besides that by  
*Scriptures* nothing else is understood in the *New*  
Testa-



*Testament*, there could be no other *Scripture* known to *Timothy* of a child, but these of the *Old Testament*. If then they trespass upon the authority of the *New Testament*, and its blessed Author; who assert a power to determine about Rituals in Worship, or other matters of *Religion*, they committed the same crime who pretended to add to what *Moses* prescribed, since he was also *faithful in all his house*. Or if any plead a divine warrant for these institutions which were traditionally conveyed, this will open a door for all the pretences of the *Roman Church*, since the expressions that cancel *traditions*, are as full in the *Old Testament*, as in the *New*. And thus far I think I have evinced, that there were great additions in Rituals made by the *Jews*, and that these were not unlawful, since complied with by him who never did amiss, and yet these could have no higher original than humane authority. I go on to the *New Dispensation*, wherein I doubt not to evince, that as for rituals, most of these they found in the *Synagogue* were retained, without any other change than what that *Dispensation* drew after it, and that they took both the rules of government, worship and discipline from the *Synagogue*. Therefore the *Epistles* do not, when treating of these matters, speak in their style, who are instituting new things; but of those who are giving dire-



directions about what was already received and known: For if new rules had been to be delivered, the institution had been express, either in the *Gospels*, *Acts*, or *Epistles*. Now if any will read these without prejudice, no such thing will appear: of which manner of style, no account can be given; but that things, as to Rituals continued as they were, the use of the Sacraments being only instituted by CHRIST, where the language of an institution is express.

About two hundred years after CHRIST, outward penitence was brought into the Church, and scandalous persons were, according to the nature of scandals, debarred from the Sacrament for a long space, and were by degrees, and according to the height of their penitence, received to the Communion of the Church, but not after some years had passed in outward professions of penitence: and the modelling of this became after that, the chief care of Synods for diverse Centuries. Now if one will argue, that though it be true that a scandalous person should be excommunicated; yet since GOD hath mercy at whatsoever time a sinner repents, so should the Church (which only judgeth of the profession) forgive at whatsoever time one professeth penitence. It will not be easie in your principles to answer this: and see how you will clear this practise of Discipline from tyranny,

since



since to debar men from the *Sacraments*, is a greater dominion over consciences than the determining about Rituals.

But to come nearer home, there was a certain Society you have heard of *ycleped the Kirk*, which had diverse Books of Discipline containing rules for that, and a Directory for Worship, which had no few rules neither: they had also a frame of Government, the Supream Judicatory whereof was composed of three Ministers, and one ruling Elder from each Presbytery, a ruling Elder beside from each Burrough, two being allowed the Metropolis, and a Commissioner was sent from each University; and in this high Court the King came in with the privilege of a Burgh: for though the Metropolis had two, he was allowed to send but one with a single suffrage to represent him; and this Court pretended to an authority from CHRIST, and their authority was sacred with no less certificat, then *he that despiseth you, despiseth me*. Now how a power can be committed to delegates without any Commission for it from the Superior, will not be easily made out. And they will search long ere they find a divine warrant for this Court, unless they vouch *Mary Mitchelsons testimony* for it, whose hysterical distempers were given out for Prophecies. And whereas they are so tender of *Christian Liberty*, that no



Law must pass about the Rituals of Religion, yet their books of disciplin & model of governmēt, were not only settled by Law, but afterwards sworn to be maintained in the Covenant, wherein they swore *the preservation of the Reformed Religion in Scotland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government.* These were the tender consciences that could not hear of any Law in *matters indifferent*, and yet would have all swear to their forms, many of which they could not but know were indifferent: which was a making them necessary at another rate, then is done by a Law which the Legislator can repeal when he will: and never were any in the world more addicted to their own forms then they were. An instance of this I will give, which I dare say will surprise you: When some designers for popularity in the *Western* parts of that Kirk, did begin to disuse the *L O R D S Prayer* in worship, and the singing the *Conclusion* or *Doxologie* after the *Psalm*, and the *Ministers kneeling* for *privat devotion* when he entred the Pulpit, the *General Assembly* took this in very ill part, and in a Letter they wrote to the Presbyteries, complained sadly *Of a spirit of innovation was beginning to get into the Kirk, and to throw these laudible practises out of it, mentioning the three I named, which are commanded to be still practised; and such as refused obedience, are appointed to be conferred with in order to the*  
giving



giving of them satisfaction: and if they continued untractable, the Presbyteries were to proceed against them, as they should be answerable to the next General Assembly. This Letter I can produce authentically attested. But is it not strange, that some who were then zealous to condemn these innovations, should now be carried with the herd to be guilty of them? I am become hoarse with speaking so long, and so I must break off, having, as I suppose, given many great precedents from History for the using of *Rites in divine matters*, without an expresse warrant, and for passing *Laws* upon these, and have cleared the one of Superstition, and the other of Tyranny.

*End.* Truly, all of you have done your parts so well, that even *Isotimus* himself seems half convinced: It is then fully clear, that as nothing is to be obtruded on our belief without clear revelation; so no sacred duty can be bound on our obedience without a divine warrant: but in Rituals, especially in determining what may be done in a variety of ways to one particular form, there hath been, and still must be, a Power on earth; which provided it ballance all things right, and consider well the fitness of these Rites, for attaining the designed end, doth not invade G O D S Dominion by making Laws about them: Nor will the pretence of *Christian Liberty* warrant our disobedience to



them. It remains to be considered, who are vested with this Power, and how much of it belongs to the Magistrat, and how much to the Church?

*Basil.* I now engage in a Theam which may perhaps lay me open to censure, as if I were courting the Civil Powers by the asserting of their rights: but I am too well known to you to dread your jealousy much in this; and I am too little known to my self, if flattery be my foible. I shal therefore with the greatest frankness and ingenuity, lay open my sence of this matter, with the reasons that prevail with me in it: but I desire first to hear *Isotimus* his opinion about it.

*Isot.* I do not deny the King hath authority and jurisdiction in matters sacred: but it must be asserted in a due line of subordination: First, to CHRIST the King of Kings, and the only head of his Church. And next, to the Rulers and Office-bearers of the Church, who are entrusted by CHRIST, as his Ambassadors, with the souls of their flocks, and who must give him an account of their labors; therefore they must have their rules only from him who empowers them, and to whom they are subject: They must also have a power among them to preserve the *Christian Society*; in order to which, they must, according to the *practise of the Apostles*,  
when



when difficulties emerge, meet together, and consult what may be for the advancement of the *Christian Religion*; and whoso refuseth to hear the Church when she errs not from her rule, he is to be accounted no better then a *Heathen and a Publican*. And since the Church is called one body, they ought to associat together in meetings, seeing also they have their Power of CHRIST, as Mediator, whereas the *Civil Powers* hold of him as he is GOD, they have a different tenor, distinct ends, and various rules; therefore the authority of the Church is among the things of GOD, which only belong to him. And indeed Christians were very ill provided for by CHRIST, if they must in matters of Religion be subject to the pleasure of secular and carnal men, who will be ready to serve their own interests at the rate of the ruine of every thing that is sacred. It is true, the *Civil Powers* may and ought to convocat Synods to consult about matters of Religion, to require *Church-men* to do their duty, to add their *Sanctions* to *Church Laws*, and to joyn with the sounder part for carrying on a *Reformation*. But all this is cumulative to the *Churches intrinsic Power, and not privative*; so that if the Magistrat fall short of his duty, they are notwithstanding of that, to go on as men empowered by JESUS CHRIST, and *he who despiseth them* (be his



quality what it will) despiseth him that sent them. See pag. 105. to pag. 109. and pag. 467. to pag. 486.

*Basil.* In order to a clear progress in this matter, I shal first discuss the *nature and power of the Church*, by which a step shal be made to *the Power the Magistrat* may pretend to in matters sacred. The Apostles being sent by JESUS CHRIST, did every where promulgate the Gospel, & required such as received it, to meet often together for joint worship, & the free profession of the Faith, wherein they were particularly obliged to the use of the Sacraments. The Apostles, and after them, all Church-men, were also endued with a double power: The one was declarative for promulgating the Gospel: the other was directive, which properly is no power; and by this they were to advise in such matters wherein they had no warrant to command: So *S. Paul* wrote sometimes his own sense, which he did *by permission*, and not *by commandment*, only he advised, *as one that had obtained mercy to be faithful.* But because CHRIST was to be in his Church to the end of the world, the things they had heard were to be committed to *faithful men, that they might be able to teach others.* All Church-men being thus the successors of the Apostles, they are vested with a *Divine Authority*, for solemn publishing the Gospel; but with this odds from the Apostles, *That whereas they*  
were



were infallible, their successors are subject to error. And the power of Church-men consists formally in this, that they are *Heralds of the Gospel*; and by their preaching it, a solemn offer of it is made to all their hearers, which to despise, is to *despise him that sent them*. But in this power they are bound up to the Commission they have from GOD, so that what they say beyond that, is none of the divine Message. Yet because many particulars may fall in, about which it was impossible rules could be given, they have a directive authority, which if it be managed as *S. Paul* did, we need fear no tyrannical imposition from it. And therefore in these matters their definitions are not binding Laws, but rules of advice: for in matters wherein we are left at liberty by GOD, if Church-men pretend to a Dominion over our souls, they make us the servants of men. And indeed it is the most incoherent thing imaginable, for these who lay no claim to infallibility, to pretend to absolute obedience. It is true, the Laws of peace and order bind us to an association, if we be Christians: and therefore we ought to yield in many things for peace: but since we are all a *Royal Priesthood*, why Church-men should pretend to authority or jurisdiction, except in that which is expressly in their Commission, wherein they are purely *Heralds*, I do not see. It is true, Chri-



istians ought to assemble for worship, but for the associations of Churches in Judicatories, I cannot imagine in what corner of the *New Testament* that shal be found: In which I am the more confirmed, since all the labor of that Pamphleter from pag. 126. to 144. could not find it out. For it is a strange method to prove a divine warrant, because some reasons are brought to prove it must be so: to have cited the words, were a shorter and clearer method of proof; since to prove that such a thing must be, and yet not to show that it is, is only to attempt against the Scripture, for being defective in that which it ought to have contained. But if the phrase of *one body* conclude a proof for Associations, then since the body includes all Christians, the whole faithful must meet together in Councils. For where have you a difference in that betwixt the Clergy, and the faithful Laicks? But here yeelding your Laick Elders of divine institution, and to have from GOD an authority of ruling, as well as the Ministers have, then why do they not all come to Presbyteries? And why but one deputed from them? Was not this an encroachment on them? For if they have from CHRIST a power to rule, as well as Ministers, why should not all the Elders meet in Presbyteries and Synods, as well as Ministers? And why but



but one Elder from every Presbytery, when three Ministers go to the National Synod? For it is folly to say, because Ministers have a power of teaching, therefore in Presbyteries and Synods the Elders must only equal their number, & in National Synods be near half their number: for that will only say that in matters of doctrine the Elders should be quite silent, but in matters of discipline, why all should not come if any have a right from CHRIST, will not be proved. And is not this to *Lord it over your brethren*? And do not your Ministers thus tyrannise over their Elders? But the reason of it was visible, lest the Elders had thereby got the power in their hands, had they been the plurality in the Judicatories: which was well enough foreseen & guarded against by your Clergy, who tho they were willing to serve themselves of them for a while, yet had no mind to part with their beloved authority. But for Synods, if the obligation to them be from the unity of the Body, then nothing under an OEcumenical one will answer this, which yet is simply unpracticable. Now as for your National Synods, it is visible they are & must be framed, according to the divisions of the world in the several Kingdoms: for according to the rules are pretended from Scripture (*tell the Church, the binding and loosing of sins, or the like*) it follows that Parochial Congregations,  
and



and the Pastors in them, are vested with an authoritative power: now why they should be made to resign this to the plurality of the Churchmen of that Kingdom, will be a great achievement to prove in your principles. For why shall not a Parochial Church make laws within it self? And why must it renounce its privilege to such a number of Church-men cast in such a Classis by a humane power? As likewise, where find you a divine warrant for your delegating Commissioners to Synods? For either they are Plenipotentiaries, or such as go upon a restricted deputation, but so as their votes beyond their Commission shall signify nothing, till they return and be approved by those who sent them: if they go with a full power, assign a warrant for such a delegation, or that many Church-men may commissionat one in their name, and that what shall be agreed to by the major part of these delegats, shall be a binding obligation on Christians: and yet I know you will think the Independents carry the cause, if it be said that the appointments of these superior Courts have no authority till ratified by the inferior, which will resolve the power into the inferior Courts. By all which I think it is clear abundantly, that the associations of Churches into Synods, cannot be by a divine warrant. But I must call in some relief, for I grow weary of speaking too long.

*End.*



*End.* I suppose none will deny the association of Churches to be an excellent mean for preserving unity and peace: but to assert a divine original for them, methinks, is a hard task; and truly to assert the divine authority of the major part which must be done according to the principles of Presbytery, is a thing fuller of Tyranny over consciences, then any thing can be feared from Episcopacy; since the greater part of mankind being evil, which holds true of no sort of people more, then of Church-men, what mischief may be expected if the plurality must decide all matters? And to speak plainly, I look on a potion of Physick as the best cure for him, who can think a National Synod, according to the model of *Glasgow*, is the Kingdom of CHRIST on earth, or that Court to which he hath committed his authority, for he seems beyond the power or conviction of reason.

*Crit.* The Scripture clearly holds forth an authority among Church-men, but visibly restricted to their commission, which truly is not properly a power residing among them, for they only declare what the rule of the Gospel is; wherein if they keep close to it, they are only Publishers of the Laws of CHRIST: and if they err from it, they are not to be regarded. It is true the administration of Sacraments is appropriated to them, yet he that will argue  
this



this to have proceeded more from the general rules of order, the constant practise of the Church, and the fitness of the thing, which is truly suitable to the dictates of nature, and the Laws of Nations; then from an expresse positive command, needs much Logick to make good his attempt. It is true, the ordaining of successors in their office belongs undoubtedly to them, and in trying them, rules are expressly given out in Scripture, to which they ought to adhere and follow them: but as for other things, they are either decisions of opinions, or rules for practise. In the former their authority is purely to declare, and in that they act but as men, and we find whole schools of them have been abused: and in the other, they only give advices and directions, but have no Jurisdiction: It is true, much noise is made about the Council of *Jerusalem*, pag. 106. as if that were a warrant for Synods to meet together. But first, it is clear no command is there given, so at most that will prove Synods to be lawful, but that gives them no authority, except you produce a clear command for them, and obedience to them. Next, what strange wresting of Scripture is it, from that place to prove the subordination of Church Judicatories? for if that Council was not an OEcumenical Council, nor a Provincial one, which must be yeelded, since  
we



we see nothing like a Convocation; then either *Paul & Barnabas* were sent from *Antioch*, as from one sister Church to ask advice of another; & if so, it proves nothing for the authority of Synods, since advices are not Laws: or *Antioch* sent to *Jerusalem*, as to a Superior Church by its constitution, which cannot be imagined: for what authority could the Church of *Jerusalem* pretend over *Antioch*? And indeed had that been true, some vestige of it had remained in History; which is so far to the contrary, that the Church of *Jerusalem* was subordinat to the Church of *Cesarea*, which was Metropolitan in *Palestine*, was subject to *Antioch*, the third Patriarchal See. It will therefore remain that this was only a reference to the other Apostles, who besides their extraordinary endowments and inspiration, were acknowledged by all to be men of great eminency and authority: and therefore the authority of *Paul* and *Barnabas* not being at that time so universally acknowledged, they were sent to *Jerusalem*, where *S. James* was resident, and *S. Peter* occasionally present. Now the authority of the decree must be drawn from their infallible spirit; otherwise it will prove too much, that one Church may give out decrees to another. But will the Apostles mutual consulting or conferring together, prove the National constitution, and authority of Synods or Assemblies?

*Poly.*



*Poly.* All that hath been said illustrats clearly the practise of the *Jews*, among whom as the High Priest was possessed with a prophetic Spirit, which sometimes fell on him by il-lapses, as appears from what is said of *Cajaphas*; and sometimes from the shining of the Stones in the Pectoral, called the *Urim* and *Thummim*; so the *Priests* and *Levites* being the chief Trustees and Depositories of the Law, *Their lips were to preserve knowledge*, and the Law was to be sought at their mouth, yet they had no Legislative authority: they had indeed a Court among themselves, called the *Parhedrim*, made up of the heads of the Orders, and of the Families; but that Court did not pretend to Jurisdiction, but only to explain things that concerned the Temple-worship: nay, the High Priest was so restricted to the *King* and *Sanhedrim*, that he might not consult the Oracle without he had been ordered to do it by them: neither do we ever hear of any Laws given out, all the *Old Testament* over, in the name of the Priests. And in the *New Testament*, the Power (it seems) was to be managed by the body of the faithful, as well as by Church-men. It is true, the Apostles were clothed with an extraordinary power of *binding and loosing of sins*; but no proofs are brought to justify the pretences to Jurisdiction that are found among their successors. For in the *Epistle*  
to



to *Corinth*, the rules there laid down, are addressed to *all the Saints that were called to be faithful*: so also is the *Epistle to the Thessalonians*, where he tells them to *note such as walked disorderly, and have no fellowship with them*; which are shrewd grounds to believe that at first all things were managed Parochially, where the faithful were also admitted to determine about what occurred: but for Synods, we find, not the least vestige of them before the end of the second Century, that Synods were gathered about the controverſie concerning the day of *Easter*; and the following Associations of Churches, show clearly, that they took their model from the division of the *Roman Empire*, and so according as the Provinces were divided, the Churches in them did associat to the Metropolitans, and become subordinat to them, and these were subordinat to the Patriarchs; by which means it was that the Bishops of *Rome* had the precedency, not from any imaginary derivation from *S. Peter*: for had they gone on such rules, *Jerusalem* where our LORD himself was, had undoubtedly carried it of all the World: but *Rome* being the *Imperial City*, it was the See of the greatest authority. And no sooner did *Byzantium* creep into the dignity of being the *Imperial City*, but the Bishop of *Constantinople* was made second Patriarch, and in all things equal to the Bishop of *Rome*,



*Rome*, the precedency only excepted. Much might be here said for proving that these Synods did not pretend to a divine Original, though afterwards they claimed a high authority, yet their appointments were never called Laws, but only Canons and rules, which could not pretend to a Jurisdiction.

*Basil.* But that I may not seem to rob the Church of all her power, I acknowledge that by the Laws of Nature it follows, that these who unite in the service of GOD, must be warranted to associat in meetings to agree on general rules, and to use means for preserving purity and order among themselves, and that all inferiors ought to subject themselves to their rules. But as for that brave distinction of the Churches authority, being derived from CHRIST as Mediator, whereas the Regal Authority is from him as GOD, well doth it become its inventors, and much good may it do them. For me, I think, that CHRIST S asserting that *all power in heaven and in earth was given to him*; and his being called, *The KING of Kings, and LORD of Lords*, make it as clear as the Sun, that the whole OEconomy of this World is committed to him as Mediator: and as they who died before him, were saved by him, who was slain from the foundation of the world; so all humane authority was given by vertue of the  
the



the second Covenant, by which mankind was preserved from infallible ruine, which otherwise it had incurred by *Adams* fall. But leaving any further enquiry after such a foolish nicety, I go now to examine what the *Magistrats Power* is in matters of Religion: And first, I lay down for a maxime, *That the externals of Worship, or Government, are not of such importance, as are the rules of Justice and Peace, wherein formally the Image of GOD consists.* For CHRIST came to bring us to GOD: and the great end of his Gospel, is, the assimilation of us to GOD, of which, justice, righteousness, mercy and peace make a great part. Now what sacredness shall be in the outwards of Worship and Government, that these must not be medled with by his hands; and what unhallowedness is in the other, that they may fall within his Jurisdiction, my weakness cannot reach. As for instance, when the Magistrate allows *ten per cent* of interest, it is just to exact it; and when he brings it down to *six per cent*, it is oppression to demand *ten per cent*; so that he can determine some matters to be just or unjust by his Laws: now why he shall not have such a power about outward matters of Worship, or of the Government of the Church, judge you; since the one both in it self, and as it tends to commend us to GOD, is much more important then the other. It is



true, he cannot meddle with the holy things himself; for the Scripture-rule is expresse, that men be separated for the work of the *Ministry*: And without that separation, he invades the Altar of *G O D*, that taketh that honor upon him, without he be called to it. But as for giving Laws in the externals of *Religion*, I see not why he may not do it, as well as in matters *Civil*. It is true, if he contradict the *Divine Law* by his commands, *G O D* is to be obeyed rather than man. But this holds in things *civil*, as well as *sacred*. For if he command murder, or theft, he is undoubtedly to be disobeyed, as well as when he commands amiss in matters of *Religion*. In a word, all subjects are bound to obey him in every lawful command. Except therefore you prove that Church-men constituted in a Synod are not subjects, they are bound to obedience, as well as others: Neither doth this authority of the Magistat any way prejudice the power *CHRIST* hath committed to his Church: For a father hath power over his children, and that by a *divine precept*, though the Supream Authority have power over him, and them both: so the Churches authority is no way inconsistent with the Kings Supremacy. As for their *Declarative Power*, it is not at all subject to him, only the exercise of it, to this or that person, may be suspended: For since the Magistat can  
banish



banish his subjects, he may well silence them: Yet I acknowledge if he do this, out of a design to drive the Gospel out of his Dominions, they ought to continue in their duty, notwithstanding of such prohibition; for *G O D must be obeyed rather then man.* And this was the case of the *Primitive Bishops*, who rather then give over the feeding their flocks, laid themselves open to Martyrdom. But this will not hold for warranting turbulent persons, who notwithstanding of the Magistrats continuing all encouragements for the publick Worship of *G O D*, choose rather then concur in it (though not one of an hundred of them hath the confidence to call that unlawful) to gather separated Congregations, whereby the flocks are scattered.

*Phil.* Nay, since you are on that subject, let me freely lay open the mischief of it: It is a direct breach of the Laws of the Gospel, that requires our solemn assembling together, which must ever bind all Christians, till there be somewhat in the very constitutions of these Assemblies, that renders our meeting in them unlawful: which few pretend in our case. Next, the Magistrats commanding these publick Assemblies, is certainly a clear and superadded obligation, which must bind all under sin, till they can prove these our Meetings for worship unlawful. And as these separated Conventicles



are of their own nature evil, so their effects are yet worse; and such as indeed all the ignorance and profanity in the Land is to be charged on them: for as they dissolve the union of the Church, which must needs draw mischief after it, so the vulgar are taught to despise their Ministers, and the publick Worship, and thus get loose from the yolk. And their dependance on these separated Meetings, being but precarious, as they break away from the order of the Church, so they are not tyed to their own order: and thus betwixt hands, the vulgar lose all sense of Piety, and of the Worship of GOD. Next, in these separated Meetings, nothing is to be had but a long preachment, so that the knowledge and manners of the people not being lookt after, and they taught to revolt from the settled *Discipline*, and to disdain to be catechised by their Pastors, *ignorance and profanity* must be the sure effect of these divided Meetings. And in fine, the disuse of the *LORDS Supper* is a guilt of a high nature; for the vulgar are taught to loath the Sacrament from their Ministers hands, as much as the Mass: and preaching is all they get in their Meetings: so that what in all ages of the Church hath been looked on, as the great cherishing of Devotion and true Piety, and the chief preserver of Peace among Christians, is wearing out of practise with our  
new



new modelled Christians. These are the visible effects of separating practises: but I shal not play the uncharitable diviner, to guess at the secret mischief such courses may be guilty of.

*Basil.* Truly, what you have laid out is so well known to us all, that I am confident *Isotimus* himself must with much sorrow acknowledge what wicked artes these are that some use to dislocate the body of CHRIST, and to sacrifice the interests of Religion to their vanity, humor, or perhaps their secular interests. But I hold on my design, and add, that if the Magistrat encroach on GODS prerogative, by *contradicting or abrogating divine Laws*, all he doth that way, falls on himself. But as for the Churches *Directive Power*, since the exercise of that is not of obligation, he may command a surcease in it. It is true, he may sin in so doing; yet cases may be wherein he will do right to discharge all Associations of Judicatories, if a Church be in such commotion, that these Synods would but add to the flame: but certainly he forbidding such Synods, they are not to be gone about, there being no positive command for them in Scripture, and therefore a discharge of them contradicts no Law of GOD, and so cannot be disobeyed without sin: and when the Magistrat allows of Synods, he is to judge on whither side



in case of differences, he will pass his Law : neither is the decision of these Synods obligatory in prejudice of his authority ; for there can be but one Supream ; and two Coordinat Powers are a *Chymara*. Therefore in case a Synod and the Magistrat contradict one another in matters undetermined by G O D , it is certain a Synod sins if it offer to countermand the *Civil Authority* , since all must be subject to the Powers that are, of which number the Synod is a part ; therefore they are subject as well as others. And if they be bound to obey the Magistrats commands, they cannot have a power to warrant the subjects in their disobedience, since they cannot secure themselves from sin by such disobedience. And in the case of such countermands, it is indisputable the subjects are to be determined by the Magistrats Laws , by which only the rules of Synods are Laws , or bind the consciences formally ; since without they be authorized by him, they cannot be Laws ; for we cannot serve two Masters , nor be subject to two Legislators. And thus , me thinks , enough is said for clearing the Title of the *Magistrat in exacting our obedience to his Laws in matters of Religion*.

*Crit.* Indeed , the congesting of all the *Old Testament* offers , for proving the Civil Powers their authority in things sacred , were a task of time :



time: And first of all, that the High Priest might not consult the Oracle, but when either desired by the King, or in a business that concerned the whole Congregation, is a great step to prove what the Civil Authority was in those matters. Next, we find the Kings of *Judah* give out many Laws about matters of Religion: I shal wave the instances of *David* and *Solomon*, which are so express, that no evasion can serve the turn, but to say they acted by immediate Commission, and were inspired of G O D. It is indeed true, that they had a particular direction from G O D. But it is as clear, that they enacted these Laws upon their own authority, as Kings, and not on a Prophetical Power.

But we find *Jehoshaphat*, 2 *Chr.* 17. v. 7. sending to his Princes to teach in the Cities of *Judah*, with whom also he sent *Priests* and *Levites*, and they went about and taught the people. There you see secular men appointed by the King to teach the people: he also, 2. *Chr.* 19. v. 5. set up in *Jerusalem* a Court made up of *Levites*, *Priests*, and the chief of the *Fathers* of *Israel*, for the judgement of the L O R D, and for the controversies among the people; and names two Presidents, *Amariah* the chief *Priest* to be over them in the matters of the L O R D, and *Zebadiah* for all the Kings matters. And he that



will consider these words, either as they ly in themselves, or as they relate to the first institution of that Court of seventy by *Moses*, where no mention is made but of one Judicatory, or to the Commentary of the whole writings, and Histories of the *Jews*, shal be set beyond dispute, that here was but one Court to judge both of sacred and secular matters. It is true, the *Priests* had a Court already mentioned, but it was no Judicatory, and medled only with the rituals of the Temple. The *Levites* had also, as the other Tribes, a Court of twenty-three for their Tribe, which have occasioned the mistakes of some places among the *Jewish* writings: but this is so clear from their writings, that a very overly knowledge of them will satisfy an impartial observer. And it is yet more certain, that from the time of *Ezra*, to the destruction of the Temple, there was but one Court, that determined of all matters both sacred and civil; who particularly tryed the *Priests*, if free of the blemishes which might cast one from the service, and could cognosce on the High Priest, and whip him when he failed in his duty. Now this commixtion of these matters in one Judicatory, if it had been so criminal, whence is it that our *LORD* not only never reproved so great a disorder, but when conveyned before them, did not accuse



cuse their constitution, and answered to the High Priest when adjured by him? Likewise, when his Apostles were arraigned before them, they never declined that Judicatory, but pleaded their own innocence, without accusing the constitution of the Court, though challenged upon a matter of doctrine. But they, *good men*, thought only of catching souls into the net of the Gospel, and were utterly unacquainted with these new coyned distinctions. Neither did they refuse obedience, pretending the Court had no Jurisdiction in these matters, but because it was better to obey GOD then man; which faith, they judged obedience to that Court due, if it had not countermanded GOD.

But to return to *Jehoshaphat*, we find him constituting these Courts, and choosing the persons and empowering them for their work, *for he constituted them for Judgement and for Controversie*; so that though it were yeelded, as it will never be proved, that two Courts were here instituted, yet it cannot be denyed, but here is a Church Judicatory constituted by a King, the persons named by him, a President appointed over them, and a trust committed to them. And very little Logick will serve to draw from this, as much as the Acts among us, asserting the Kings Supremacy yeeld to him.

Next,



Next, we have a clear instance of *Hezekiah*, who 2 Chr. 30. 2. v. with the counsel of his Princes, and of the whole Congregation, made a decree for keeping the Passover, that year on the second moneth, whereas the Law of G O D had affixed it to the first moneth, leaving only an exception, Numb. 9. 10. for the unclean, or such as were on a journey, to keep it on the second moneth. Upon which *Hezekiah* with the Sanhedrim and people, appoints the Passover to be entirely cast over to the second moneth for that year. Where a very great point of their worship (for the distinction of dayes was no small matter to the Jewes) was determined by the King, without asking the advice of the Priests upon it. But that you may not think this was peculiar to the King of *Israel*, I shal urge you with other instances: When *Ezra* came from *Artaxerxes*, he brings a Commission from him, *Ezra* ch. 7. v. 25. 26. empowering him according to the wisdom of his G O D, that was in his hand, to set up Magistrats and Judges, who might judge them that knew the Laws of his G O D, and teach them that knew them not: and a severe certificat is passed upon the disobedient; and one of the branches of their punishment, which is by the Translators rendered banishment, being in the *Chaldaick*, rooting out, is by some judged to be excommunication; which is the more probable,

be



because afterwards, chap. 10. v. 8. the censure he threatens on these who came not upon his Proclamation, is, *forfeiture of goods, and separation from the Congregation*. Here then it seems a Heathen King gives authority to excommunicat: but be in that what will, *Ezra* upon his return acted in a *high Character*, he makes the *Priests, Levites*, and all *Israel*, to swear to put away their strange wives: he conveens all the people under the certificat of separation from the Congregation, and enjoyns confession of their sins and amendment: and we find both him and *Nehemiah* acting in a *high Character* about the ordering of divine matters, which could only flow from the Kings Commission, for neither of them were Prophets, nor was *Ezra* the High Priest but his brother, and so no more then an ordinary Priest. *Mordecai* likewise instituted the feast of *Purim*, for which nothing could warrant him, but the Kings authority, committed to him, who gave him his ring for sealing such orders, since he was neither King, Priest nor Prophet. And on the way, let me observe what occurs from that History, for proving what was yesterday pleaded for, *That Subjects ought not to resist, no not the tyranny of their Superiors*, since a writing was procured from *Ahasuerus* for warranting the *Jews* to *avenge themselves*, and to stand for their lives, and



and to destroy and slay all that would assault them, which faith they might not have done this before that writing was given out, and yet their killing of 74000. of their enemies shows, what their strength was. But all I have said will prove that the Civil Powers under the Old Testament did formally judge about matters of Religion; and that that priviledge belongs to Kings by vertue of their Regal dignity, and not as they are in Covenant with GOD; since even Heathen Kings give out orders about divine matters.

*Ans.* If from sacred you descend to humane practices, nothing was more used then that the Emperors judged in matters of Religion; neither was this yielded to them only after they became Christians, but *Eusebius lib. 7. cap. 30.* tells, how they made application to *Maximian* a Heathen Emperor, for turning out *Samosatenus* out of the Church of *Antioch*, who decreed that the houses of the Church should be given to those Bishops, whom the Christians of *Italy* and the *Roman* Bishops should recommend to them. *Constantine* also, when not baptized, did all his life formally judge in matters both of doctrine and discipline: and for the Laws they made about Church matters, they abound so much, that, as *Grotius* saith, One needs not read them, but look on them to be satisfied about this.

And



And indeed I know not how to express my wonder at the affrontedness of that Pamphleter, who denyes this, pag. 483. Pray ask him, was the determining about the age, the qualifications, the election, the duties of Church-men, the declaring for what things they should be deposed, or excommunicated, a formal passing of Laws in Church matters, or only the adding Sanctions to the Church determinations? And yet who will but with his eye run through either the first six *Tules* of the *Code*, or the 123. *Novel*, besides many other places, all these, and many more Laws about Church matters will meet him. But should I take a full career here, I am sure I should be tedious, and *Grotius* hath congested so many instances of this, that I refer the curious Reader to him for full satisfaction. The elections of Bishops which had been formerly in the hands of the people and Clergy, with the Provincial Synods that judged of them, became so tumultuary, that popular elections were discharged by the Council of *Laodicea*, *Can.* 13. and the Emperors did either formally name, as *Theodosius* did *Nestorius*, or reserve the ratifying their election to themselves. And I must confess, it is a pretty piece of History, to say the Bishops consented to this, either as diffident of their office, or out of ambition. See page 485. Tell your friends that they must either learn



learn more knowledge; or pretend to less; for can they produce the least vestige for the one branch of this alternative, that the Bishops their allowing the Emperor such an interest in their elections, flowed from a distrust of their office? Let them give but one scrape of proof for this, and let them triumph as much as they will. Is it not a pretty thing to see one talk so superciliously of things he knows not?

*Isot.* But all you have brought will never prove that a King may at one stroke subvert a Government established in the Church, and turn out all who adhere to it, and set up another in its place; neither will this conclude that the King may enact all things about Ecclesiastical matters, and persons, by his own bare authority, which is a surrender of our consciences to him: certainly, this is to put him in CHRIST'S stead, and what mischievous effects may follow upon this, if all matters of Religion be determined; by the pleasure of secular and carnal men, who consider their interests and appetites more than GOD'S glory, or the good of the Church and of souls? Truly my heart trembles to think on the effects this both hath produced, and still may bring forth. *See pag. 483.*

*Phil.* It is charity to ease your lungs sometimes by taking a turn in the discourse, though you need none of my help. But what you say,

*Isot.*



*Isotimus*, doth no way overturn what hath been asserted: for either the change that was made was necessary, sinful, or indifferent: the two former shal not be at this time debated, but shal be afterwards discussed: but if it be indifferent, then the Kings Laws do oblige us to obedience, and the mischief hath followed on the change falls to their share, who do not obey the Kings Laws, when the matter of them is lawful. And as for the thrusting out Church-men when they are guilty, *Solomons* precedent is convincing, who thrust out *Abiathar* from the High Priesthood; neither can the least hint be given to prove that he acted as inspired, and not as a King: and *Nehemiah* though but commissioned by *Artaxerxes*, thrust one out from the Priesthood, for marrying a strange woman.

For your prying into Acts of Parliament, truly neither you nor I need be so much conversant in them. Neither were it any strange matter, if some expressions in them would not bear a strict examen. But that you now challenge about the Kings enacting of all matters, will never infer a surrender of conscience to him; for certainly that must relate to what goeth before, of the outward Government and Policy of the Church. Besides, none will quarrel the phrase of the Kings authority in all things that are civil; yet that will not infer that he can enact the lawfulness of murder



murder and theft. So these expressions must carry with them *a tacite exception*. Yea, even without that allowance, the phrase may be well justified, since it only imports, that the Kings enacting any thing in these matters, makes them legal, which differs much from lawful; and saith only that such Orders issued forth by the King, are *de facto* Laws, which will not conclud they must be obeyed; but only that his authority is to be acknowledged, either by obedience, if the command be just, or by suffering, if unjust. As for the effects this may produce, I am sure they cannot prove worse then these which have followed upon the pretences of the Churches *absolute authority, and intrinsic Sovereign Power*. And indeed since there is so much corruption among men, nothing that falls into the hands of men, can scape the mixtures of abuse at long run. But I must add, that the passions and pride of many Church-men in all ages have been such, that the decision of the plurality of Church-men, seems the model of the world that is fullest of danger.

*Next* Three things yet remain to be discussed: The one is, if obedience be due to the Laws, when they command things contrary to our consciences? For sure you cannot pretend in that case, to give a preference to humane Laws beyond conscience, which is the voice of  
G O D.



G O D. The next is , when the Magistrat commands things just of themselves , but upon unjust motives and narratives , whither my obedience doth not homologat his bad designs ? And finally , where the commands of the Magistrat are manifestly unlawful , how far should the Church , and Church-men , oppose and contradict them ? For a bare non-obedience seems not to be all we are bound to , in that case. When I am satisfied in these things , I will quite this purpose.

*Basil.* To engage in a particular discussion of what is now moved by you , would draw on more discourse then our present leasure will allow off ; yet I shal attempt the saying of what may satisfie a clear and unprejudged mind. And to the first , I shal not fall on any longer enquiry into the nature and obligation of conscience , then to tell that *conscience is a conviction of our rational faculties , that such or such things are suitable to the nature and will of G O D.* Now all Religion is bound upon us , on this account , that there is such evidence offered for its truth , which may and ought to satisfie the strictest examen of reason. And all certainty is resolved in this , that our rational faculties are convinced of the truth of the objects that ly before us : which conviction when applyed to divine matters , is called *Conscience.* But there may be

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great



great mistakes in this conviction: for either the prejudices that ly on our minds from our senses, the prepossessions of education, interest, or humors, the want of a due application of our faculties to their objects, or chiefly the dulness and lesion of our organes, the corruption of our minds through sin and lust, occasion many errors: so that often without good reason oft contrary to it, we take up perswasions, to which we stilly adhere, and count such convictions evidences of the will of G O D. I acknowledge, when a man lyes under a perswasion of the will of G O D, he ought not to go cross to it: for this opens a door to Atheism, when that is contradicted of which we are convinced. But if this perswasion be false, it cannot secure a man from sinning in following of it. For it is a mans own fault that he is thus imposed upon, since if his rational faculties were duly applyed, and well purified, they should prove unerring touchstones of truth. If therefore through vanity, wilfulness, rashness, or any other byais of the mind, it be carried to wrong measures, a man is to blame himself, and thus his error ought to aggravat, and not lessen his guilt. If then a mans conscience dictat to him the contrary of what G O D commands, in that case, he is in a visible hazard: for his error can never take away G O D S authority, and so his wrong  
infor-



informed conscience doth not secure him from guilt, if he be disobedient. On the other hand, nothing in Scripture can bind a man to act against the convictions of conscience, since we are bound to believe the Scriptures, only because of the evidence of their authority to our rational faculties: If then our belief of the Scriptures rest on that foundation, no part of Scripture can bind us to walk contrary to that evidence, for then it should destroy that principle on which our obligation to believe it self is founded, which is the evidence of reason, and so in that case, a man sins whatever he do. Neither is this to be accounted strange, since that *erroneous conscience* is from mans own fault. And that which some alledge to escape this, that in such cases a man ought to forbear from acting, will not serve turn, to excuse a man from sin: for in these Precepts which exact a positive obedience, such a forbearance and surreasing from action, is a sin.

Upon these evidences then it will follow, that if the convictions of our conscience run contrary to the Magistrats commands, these *convictions* are either well grounded, or ill: If the former, then the Magistrats command being contrary to the nature and will of GOD, are not to be obeyed: If ill grounded, then that mistaken perswasion cannot secure us from sin,



no more then in the case of conscience contradicting the Law of GOD: for the Laws of the Magistrats in things lawful, are the Laws of GOD, being the application of his general Laws unto particular instances, by one clothed with authority from him. Therefore though I do not say the Laws of the Magistrat can warrant our counteracting an *erroneous conscience*; yet on the contrary, a *misinformed conscience* will not secure us when we disobey the Magistrats lawful commands. And thus I think your first question is clearly answered.

*End.* You have a great deal of reason to say so, your life being so closely rational, that I cannot see an escape from any part of it; yet I must add, that certainly it is a piece of *Christian tendernes*, which obligeth all in Authority, to beware of laying gall-traps and snares in the way of *tender consciences*. And the best way to get an *undisputed obedience*, is, that their commands be lyable to as few exceptions as is possible; and that the good of any such Laws be well ballanced with the hazards of them, that so the Communion of the Church in all outwards, particularly in the Sacraments, may be had on as easie termes as is possible, whereby nothing be enacted that may frighten away weaker minds from *the fellowship of the Saints*. But on the other hand, great caution must be had by all subjects  
on



on what grounds they refuse *obedience to the Laws*, that so they be not found following their own designs and interests, under a color of adhering firmly to *their consciences*. They must deliver themselves from all prepossessions, and narrowly examine all things, ere they adventure on refusing *obedience to the Laws*. But now consider if an unjust motive or narrative in a Law, deliver *tender consciences* from an obligation to obey it, or not?

*Basil.* If the Magistrat do couple his motive and narrative with our obedience, so that we cannot do the one without a seeming consent to the other, then certainly we are not to obey: For actions being often signs of the thoughts, an action how indifferent soever, if declared a sign of concurring in a sinful design, makes us guilty, in so far as we express our concurrence by a sign enjoined for that end. But if the motive or narrative be simply an account of the Magistrats own thoughts, without expressing that *obedience* is to be understood as a *concurrence* in such intentions, then we are to obey a lawful command, though enacted upon a bad design: For we must obey these in Authority, ever till they stand in competition with GOD. If then their Laws contradict not GODS Precepts, neither in their natural nor intended signification, they are to be obeyed, whatever the

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grounds



grounds were for enacting them, which is only the Magistrats deed, for which he shal answer to GOD.

*Poly.* This calls me to mind of two stories not impertinent to this purpose: The one is of *Julian the Apostat*, who to entangle the Christians, that never scrupled the bowing to the Emperors Statue, as a thing lawful, caused set up his with the Images of some of the Gods about it, that such as bowed to it, might be understood, as (likewise) bowing to the Images: which abused some of the simpler: but the more discerning refused to bow at all to those Statues, because he intended to expound that innocent bowing to his Statue, as, an adoration of the Gods about it. A Christian likewise being brought to the King of *Persia*, did according to the Law bow before him; but when he understood that to be exacted as a divine honor to the King, he refused it.

*End.* This is clear enough that all actions are as they are understood, and accordingly to be performed, or surceased from. But it seems more difficult to determine what is to be done in case a Magistrat enact wicked Laws? Are not both his Subjects bound to refuse obedience; and the heads of the Church, and the watchmen of souls likewise to witness against it? And may they not declare openly their dislike of such



such laws or practises, & proceed against him with the censures of the Church? since as to the censures of the Church, we see no reason why they should be dispensed with *respect of persons*, which *S. James* condemns in all Church Judicatories.

*Basil.* I shal not need to repeat what hath been so often said, that *we must obey GOD rather than man*: if then the Magistrats enjoyn what is directly contrary to the *divine Law*, all are to refuse obedience, and watch-men ought to warn their flocks against such hazards; and such as can have admittance to their Princes, or who have the charge of their consciences, ought with a great deal of sincere freedom, as well as humble duty, represent the evil and sinfulness of such Laws: but for any *Synodical Convention*, or any Declaration against them, no warrant for that doth appear; and therefore if the Magistrat shal simply discharge all Synods, I cannot see how they can meet without sin. But for Parochial meetings of Christians for a solemn acknowledgment of GOD, such Assemblings for divine Worship, being enjoyned both by the Laws of Nature, and Nations, and particularly commanded in the Gospel, no consideration can free Christians from their obligation, thus to assemble for Worship: if then the Magistrat should discharge these or any part of them, such as Prayer, Praises, and reading of



Scriptures, preaching the Gospel, or the use of the Sacraments, they are notwithstanding of all that to be continued in. But for the consultative or directive Government of the Church, till a divine Command be produced for Synods or Discipline, it cannot lawfully be gone about without or against his authority.

*Crit.* For refusing obedience to an unjust command, of surceasing visible Worship, the instance of *Daniel* is signal: who not only continued his adorations to G O D, for all *Darius* his Law; but did it openly, and avowedly, that so he might own his subjection to G O D. But for reproving Kings, we see what caution was to be observed in it; since G O D sent Prophets with exprefs Commissions for it in the Old Testament: and *Samuel* notwithstanding of this severe message to *Saul*, yet honored him before his people. It is true, there should be no respect of persons in Christian Judicatories: but that is only to be understood of these who are subject to them: and how it can agree to the King who is Supream, to be a subject, is not easily to be comprehended. Since then honor and obedience is by divine precept due to Magistrats, nothing that invades that honor, or detracts from that obedience, can be lawfully attempted against them: such as is any Church-censure or excommunication. And therefore I  
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cannot see how that practise of *Ambrose* upon *Theodosius*, or other later instances of some Bishops of *Rome*, can be reconciled to that, *Render fear to whom fear, and honor to whom honor is due.*

*Phil.* I am sure their practise is far less justifiable, who are alwayes preaching about the Laws and times to the people, with virulent reflections on King, Parliament and Council: much more such as not content with flying discourses, do by their writings, which they hope shal be longer lived, study the vilifying the persons, and affronting the authority of these GOD hath set over them. And how much of this stuff the Press hath vented these thirty years by past, such as knew the late times, or see their writings, can best judge.

*End.* Now our discourse having dwelt so long upon generals, is to descend to particulars: That we may examine whither upon the grounds hitherto laid down, the late tumults, or the present Schisms and divisions can be justified, or ought to be censured? I know this is a nice point, and it is to be tenderly handled, lest all that shal be said be imputed to the suggestions of passions and malice. Wherefore let me intreat you who are to bear the greater part of that discourse, to proceed in it calmly, that it may appear your designs are not to lodge infamy on any party or person, but simply to lay



lay out things as they are: hoping withall, that you will not take your informations of what you say from the tattles of persons concerned, but will proceed on true and sure grounds. And that we may return to this with the greater composedness of spirit, let our serious thoughts be interrupted with some cheerfuller diversions: for our spirits are now too far engaged to fall upon such a head.

*Isot.* You have a great deal of reason to guard your friends well when they are to fall upon such matters, lest they sin against the generation of GODS children. For my part, I am not afraid to enter on a discussion of these things, and doubt not to make it appear how the LORDS work was signally carried on by his faithful servants, and that he himself appeared in it, even to the conviction of all beholders. If there were any either of the Church or State, who covered their own bad designs, under these pretences, that makes not the cause a whit the worse: For CHRIST chose twelve, and one of them had a devil.

*Phil.* Were I at present to fall a canvassing these things, I doubt not I should quickly make all your plumes fall off: but I am willing at this time to break off our Conference: for this point will neither be soon dispatched nor easily managed; therefore we shal now part with an appoint-



pointment to meet next day in this same place after dinner.

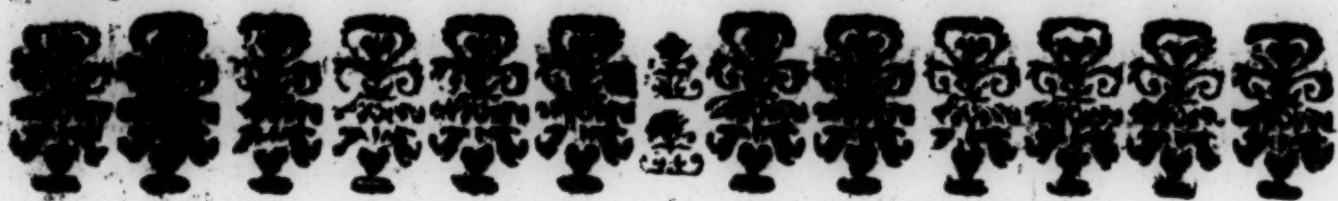
*Basil.* I believe none of us are so weary of another, or of the discourses we have tossed these two dayes, that it is needful to apprehend any will fail of being here at that hour: therefore, good night to you all.

*Isot.* Be sure, I shal keep if an unavoidable excuse detain me not. Adieu.

*Crit.* For me and *Polybistor*, though it is like we shal not have great occasion of bearing our share in your discourse, yet we will not fail to be here.

*End.* I cannot expresse my sense of the honor you do me, in making this place still happy with so many good company, and so much pleasant discourse: and therefore you may assure yourselves, I will wait for your return, not without impatience. And so I bid you all, good night.





# THE THIRD CONFERENCE.

*Isotimus.*



WE are again as good as our word in keeping this appointment, and I hope we shall be no less exact in observing the rule we concluded last night of tempering our passions; only I must guard you against the mistaking any zeal I may express for passion: remember who said, *The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up, who also scourged the buyers and sellers out of the Temple.*

*End.* I confess, I want not my fears of some heat and excess in this dayes discourse: but I will crave leave to check it on what side soever it appear. I know there is a holy zeal for **GOD**, which will inflame a devout mind. But its fire is mild and gentle, free of blustering and disorder: and that rage which is in many, for some parties or opinions, and against others, being



ing as void of knowledge as of charity, ought not to pretend to Christs example, unless they be likewise acted by his Spirit. A diligent search will quickly discover, if our motives and maxims have a tincture of his lowly meek and self-denying spirit in them. And certainly if our zeal be for G O D, it will take its degrees from the proportion of its objects. It is therefore a *Pharisaical* pretence to own a zeal for some smaller matters, which have scarce been thought upon by the whole series of Christians in all ages, till of late, when we are so cold in the defence of Peace, Charity, obedience to those over us, and the Unity of the Church; which are great, certain, and indispensable duties. That zeal likewise which transports a man unto unjustifiable heats of railing against particular persons, and appears in a bitter humor of dull jearing, and bold detraction, hath no reason to shroud it self under the example of CHRISTS holy zeal; who though in the spirit of a zealot, having proved his divine mission and authority by miracles, he whipped the defilements of the Temple out of it; yet that dispensation wherein such practices were not unusual from extraordinary persons, being now changed into the new one, whose distinguishing character is Charity, we are to bridle all the motions of distempered heat, lest the effects  
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of it be as unjustifiable as it self is. For it is to be considered, that the proper characters of the Gospel Spirit, are not devotion towards G O D, or zeal for his truths, which were common both with the Religion traditionally conveyed from *Adam*, and *Noah*, and that which was delivered to *Moses*; but that which C H R I S T hath made the cognisance of his disciples, is, *That they love one another*; whereby all must know them to be such. And therefore all these who discover a spirit of hatred, rage, and malice at these, of whom they cannot deny but they may be C H R I S T'S disciples, prove themselves to be void of his Spirit. Now, *I for my part*, what endless complaints could I here make of some you know of, who are perpetually trafficking to make all who differ from them odious, who catch up every tattle they hear that may defame them, and are sure to spread it as far as either their tongue or pen can reach: nor are they nigards of their additions to them, to make them swell bigger. With what marvellous joy do they suck in an ill report? and though it be but dubiously related, they will be sure to vent it as the greatest truth in the world. And when the stock of reports fail them, then they break in upon their magazines of forgeries: and here is an endless trade. Sometimes they will piece up things,

as



as incoherent as the rags of a Beggers cloke, and show either their pretended *intelligences*, or profound *sagacity*, to smel out bad *intentions*. If they can fix nothing on their *adversary*, then that he is an *hypocrite*, or a *dissembler*, comes well to serve all purposes, and to defeat the best *intentions*: And, oh! but the jealousies of Popery, and Jesuitical practises, work wonders on their belief. Indeed, Sir, I must tell you freely, I see a spirit stirring among us, which I look upon as tingured with the deepest dye of *Antichristianism*, and so void of the common impressions of good nature and civility, but much more of his Image, who will have us learn of him, in that he is meek and lowly, that really a man had as well live among Scythians and Barbarians, as among such wasps and vipers. Every thing is alike for their malice. Do some that differ from them live in a franker way, these are sure to be called *licentious* and *profane*. Are others more severe, silent, and retired, who express a contempt of the world with all its enjoyments, these must pass for Papists, Juglars and Hypocrites; and their best actions must be lashed with the worst censures. Again, if we treat them softly with gentleness and respect, then they are insolent, and impute such usage to our distrust of our own opinions, and a forced value of their way. And if we use a little more freedom



dom to speak home, and discover their weakness and perverseness to them, then they rage and foam, and call us *blasphemers*; and apply all the threatnings against mockers of G O D and piety, to such as shal offer to unmask them, or disclose any of their follies. If these in Authority coërce them, nothing is to be heard but complaints of *persecution*, and *revilings*, and *evil sayings*. But will gentle courses mollifie their hearts? No, not so much as to be grateful or civil to those to whom they ow them: but they will be sure to observe how G O D binds up the hands of the wicked, and how marvelously he protects his own: and all the favor shewed them will have no better character then a very mean and scant act of justice, elicited by a visible State conveniency, if not necessity. See page 493. You know of whom I mean, and how justly applicable these characters are to them: and that they are not the dreams of an extravagant fancy; but true, though imperfect descriptions of what every one sees to be among us.

I for I am heartily fory to find you the first that swerves from your own rule, and to hear you engage in a discourse so unlike your self, at least so different from the character is conceived of you: these invectives being fitter for the Author of the friendly debate, the Scribler of the Dialogues, or the Asserter of Ecclesiastical Policy, who have mor-



mortally wounded *Religion*, and all the professions and expressions of it, under a pretence of unvailing the *Pharisaical spirit*. And indeed you are now in the same tract; your design being to charge all the faithful servants of CHRIST, with this tatling, whispering, and censorious temper; because perhaps some idle people who own a kindness for these opinions, but really are of no principles, may be guilty of these ways.

*End.* I beseech you, wrest not my words beyond my design, and their meaning. I charge not the whole party with these arts: yet that there is too great compliance given to them, and too little freedom used against them, by too many, may without injustice, or breach of charity, be averred: but the disclosing of these is so far from *injuring Religion*, that I know nothing so proper for recovering the world from the jealousies these arts have occasioned at it, as the unmasking of that spirit; that so the amiable and lovely visage of *true Religion* may appear in its own lustre, and free of these false colors some unjust pretenders to it, have cast over it; and therefore these writings you mention, seem to have pursued a noble design, which shall not want its reward. But remember I make a vast difference betwixt the being of an opinion, and the pursuing all these crooked and wicked



practises for its defence, which I have laid before you. At the former, I have no quarrel: for knowing how subject my self is to mistakes, I censure and judge none for their opinions, till they strike at the *foundations of faith*, or a *good life*: And so do not only not charge all your party with these imputations, but know a great many of them who are very free of them: but that many are too guilty of them, is what your self dares not deny. And how much of that temper appears in the late Pamphlets, I leave with every rational *Reader* to consider; for it is not worth the while for any of us to sit down, & canvass them all. But how guilty are most of you in this which you here blame me unjustly for, which is the charging a party with the escapes, how great or signal soever, of some individuals. For to undertake the Patrociny of every man in every party, is that which none in his right wits will do: To deal therefore equally with you, I neither think your party nor ours, culpable for the faults of some particular persons. But, Sir, when a perverse detracting spirit gets into these who pretend highly, certainly they ought to be told it, and that roundly too. For you know the greatest danger to *Religion*, is to be apprehended from the *leaven of the Scribes and Pharisees*; since open and discernible faults do not so much prevail for infecting the *Christian Societies*,



as these secret and more easily palliated errors. Consider therefore a little what was the righteousness of the *Pharisees*, and what was their leaven, and search for it; lest it yet leaven you, and lest your righteousness exceed not theirs. The *Pharisees* prayed often, and long, both in the Synagogues, streets, and widows houses: they studied the Law exactly, and had a great reverence for *Moses* and the *Prophets*, and much zeal against *blasphemers*, *false teachers* and *hereticks*: They were strict observers of the *Sabbath*, and were careful to prepare for their *Pass-over solemnities*: They had great respect for the opinions of their *Ancestors*: They looked grave and solemn: They fasted often, and gave tythes of all they had: Their outward deportment was not only clean, but beautiful: They were zealous to gain *Profelyts*, and expressed a tenderness of conscience, even in the smallest matters: They were careful to avoid all converse with profane or wicked persons. In a word, they had many things, which to a vulgar and less discerning eye, made a fair show in the flesh. But with all this, they were proud, and exalted in their own conceits, so that they despised all other persons: They were Magisterial, and desired to prescribe to every body: They were full of empty boasting, and assumed to themselves big and swelling titles: and all their opinions they obtruded



as Oracles. They did all to be seen of men, and loved salutations in the market places, and the uppermost rooms at feasts. They envied any they saw outstrip them in true worth; and hated and contemned all that followed these. They studied to calumniate and revile every person that opposed them; with the most unjust and cruel reproaches, excommunicating all who adhered to them. Neither would they yeeld to the clearest evidences were offered for their conviction: and nothing but the blood of the most innocent could satisfy their revenge. They were covetous, and devoured widows houses, with their pretences of devotion. They were false and subdalous, studying to ensnare others in their speeches, or wrest what they said to a contrary and mischievous sense. They were traytors to these in Authority, though when it might serve their ends, they spared not to pretend much zeal for them: and the fervor of their zeal made them often attempt the murdering of those who opposed them, and discovered their false pretexes, and mischievous designs. And from this, let all judge how much of that *Pharisaical leaven* doth yet lurk, and leaven among us. I know the application would be thought as invidious, as it is obvious. And, I pray GOD, those guilty of these evils, may charge them home upon themselves: For I confess, I love not that  
part



part of the *Chirurgians* made so well, as to dwell longer on the cutting of ulcers, or the searching of sores: and these whom this general hint will not help to some conviction, would be little prevailed upon by a closer discovery of the parallel. But mistake me not, as if I charged one party only with this leaven, which is, alace! too visible among many of all sides and parties. But to dwell no longer on generals, which every one will drive off himself, and lodge on others, let us now come to a closer review of our late times. And here, *Philarcheus*; I quite the Theam to you, who I know can manage it better. ☩ ☩ ☩

*Phil.* Truly, when I reflect on the late times, and the spirit which did then act in the Judicatories both of Church and State, I wonder much how any can be guilty of the error of thinking it was the cause of *GOD* was then fought for. I deny not but a great many, yea, I am willing to hope the greater part, were misled and abused, and did imagine it was *Religion and Liberties* they fought for; and so went out as they were called, in the simplicity of their heart, and knew not any thing of the secret designs of their Leaders: As in the case of *Absolams* rebellion, two hundred went from *Jerusalem* with him, which might well a little excuse their fault, but could not alleviate the guilt of that unnatural rebellion: so whatever may be said for excusing the



multitudes, who, I doubt not, meant well, yet that will never serve for vindicating the course was followed. I confess, if I saw any remorse or shame for bypast miscarriages; if I found these people we speak of, either humbled for them before G O D, or ashamed of them among men, I should be the last on earth who would upbraid them with them: and that the rather, that *His Majesty* hath buried the remembrance of them by a gracious oblivion. But when they continue so insolent, as still to bear up so high in their pretensions, as if G O D had been visibly with them: and when they think it an injury to their innocency to tell them of an indemnity, who would not be tempted to take them to task, and examine all their vain boastings, and empty pretences? to which I am both provoked from their arrogance, and invited from the evident proofs of all I shal alledge, which I can lay before you from authentic Papers and Registers: and I shal freely tell you, that if any of these Pamphleters had but the half to say of these who yeeld a compliance to the present Establishment, which I can say of them, the world would ring with it. But I count the defaming of men a work as mean, as it is cruel. Yet I look upon my self as obliged to give some accounts of the spirit and wayes of these people, which I shal do with all the reserve



reserve and caution that becomes a Christian.

*End.* Hold, hold, I pray you, run not too far in your career, lest you lay open things were better hid: I confess these Writers do justly draw it from you; but for the faults of two or three, be not cruel to a multitude. And what will all you shal say avail; for we know well enough how little the clearest evidence will prevail upon their belief? And though I in particular, know upon what grounds you can go; for verifying all you undertake, and that they are unexceptionably clear; yet it is a danghil not to be searched too much. Wherefore let me, with my most earnest intreaties, divert you from the discourse you have threatened *Isotimus* with. But because all these mens defences of the resistance subjects may make to their Soveraigus, go upon the principles of maintaining Religion and Liberties, when invaded by the Magistrat; we will therefore be beholding to you, if you satisfie us, whether the late wars, as they were begun and carried on, were defensive or not?

*Phil.* Your authority over me is so entire, that your commands never fail of determining my obedience, therefore for this once I shal yeeld to your desire, but with this declaration, that if *Isotimus* cannot prevail among his friends, for conjuring that pamphleting spirit



into silence, I will be forced on more freedom then I either design or desire: and be made to tell name and surname of the Actors of many things, which they may wish lay dead: and be made to prove them from authentick papers & records, and discover a mystery of iniquity, which hath lyen long hid under fair pretences: and in a word, let you understand what were the arts, cabalings, and intrigues of these who pretended so much to the interest of CHRIST, when they sought their own: and if in doing this, I be forced on much round and plain dealing, the blame of it will fall to their share who extort it from me. But I come now to satisfie your desire, and doubt not to convince you, that the late wars were an invasion of the Kings authority, and of the established Laws, and were not for defence of any part of the established Religion and liberties.

In the year 1638. His *Majestie* having understood, that the authorizing of the Service-Book, and Book of Canons, and the establishment of the High-Commission Courts, were illegal; did upon the representation of those grievances, not only retract what he had formerly done, but in the fullest manner discharged them, and though the *Articles of Perth* stood settled by Law, yet upon their petitions, who counted them grievances, he warranted  
their



their disuse: and for securing the fears of his subjects of the change of Religion, (with which some factious spirits had poysoned them;) he appointed the *National Covenant*, as King *James* had signed it, to be taken by all his subjects with a bond of mutual defence and adherence to it: He also summoned an Assembly and Parliament, for satisfying all the just demands and grievances of his subjects. But did this satisfy the zeal of that party? No, for when all colors of grounds were removed from those malicious imputations, with which his *Majesties* actions were aspersed; then did they flee to their safe and sure refuge of jealousies and fears, out of which there was never any storming of them, as if all had been only offered to trepan and deceive them. And after His *Majesty* had called a Synod at *Glasgow*, then came in the Lay-Elders, who were all of the Nobility, and men of the greatest eminence of the Kingdom, and carried the elections of the members of the Assembly in the most arbitrary manner imaginable: many instances whereof I can yet prove from authentick papers, one general I shal only name, (for did I stand to reckon up all, I should never get to an end:) the ruling Elders who came from every Parioch to the Presbyteries, for electing the Commissioners to the Assembly, were men of power, and of one



one knot; and so when it was voted what Ministers should be chosen, they who were listed, being at least six, were set to the door, and thus the Elders who stayed within, carried the election as they pleased. And when the commissioned ruling Elder was chosen, they were all so associated, that they could not choose wrong. And thus it was, that the secular men did intirely choose the members of the Assembly of *Glasgow*. But before they went to it, a written citation of the Bishops was ordered to be read through all the Churches of Scotland; wherein they were charged, as guilty of all the crimes imaginable, which as an *Agape* after the Lords Supper, was first read after a Communion at *Edinburgh*: and upon it, orders were sent every where, for bringing in the privatest of their escapes. (And you may judge how consonant this was to that royal law of charity, which covers a multitude of sins) nor was the Kings Authority any whit regarded all this while. Was ever greater contempt put on the largest offers of grace and favor? And when at *Glasgow* His Majesty offered by his Commissioner, to consent to the limiting of Bishops, nothing would satisfy their zeal without condemning the order, as unlawful and abjured. But when many illegalities of the constitution and procedure of that Assembly were discovered



red, their partiality appeared, for being both Judge and party, they justified all their own disorders. Upon which *His Majesties* Commissioner was forced to discharge their further sitting, or procedure, under pain of Treason: but withal published *His Majesties* Royal intentions to them, for satisfying all their legal desires, and securing their fears. But their stomachs were too great to yeeld obedience, and so they sate still, pretending their authority was from CHRIST, and condemned Episcopacy, excommunicated the Bishops, with a great many other illegal and unjustifiable Acts. And when *His Majesty* came with an Army to do himself right by the sword GOD had put in his hands, they took the start of him, and seised on his Castles, and on the houses and persons of his good subjects, and went in a great body against him. Now in this *His Majesty* had the Law clearly of his side: For Episcopacy stood established by Act of Parliament. And if this was a cause of Religion, or a defence of it, much less such as deserved all that blood and confusion which it drew on, let all the world judge.

It is true, *His Majestie* was willing to send things, and receive them again into his grace, and upon the matter granted all their desires: but they were unsatisfiable, upon which they again armed. But of this I shal not recount the parti-



particulars, because I hope to see a clear and un-  
 byassed narration of these things ere long. On-  
 ly one villany I will not conceal, at the pacifica-  
 tion at *Berwick*, seven Articles of Treaty were  
 signed; but the Covenanters got a paper among  
 them, which passed for the conditions of the  
 agreement; though neither signed by his *Ma-  
 jestie*, nor attested by Secretary or Clerk: and  
 this being every where spread, his *Majestie*  
 challenged it as a forgery: and all the *English*  
 Lords who were of the Treaty, having decla-  
 red upon oath, that no such paper was agreed  
 on, it was burnt at *London* by the hand of the  
 Hang-man, as a scandalous paper. But this was  
 from the pulpits in *Scotland*, represented as a vio-  
 lation of the Treaty, and that the Articles of it  
 were burnt. These and such were the arts the  
 men of that time used to enflame that blessed  
 King's native subjects against him.

But all these were smal matters to the follo-  
 wing invasion of *England*, anno 1643. for his  
*Majestie* did anno 1641. come to *Scotland*, and  
 give them full satisfaction to all, even their most  
 unreasonable demands; which he consented to  
 pass into Acts of Parliaments. But upon his re-  
 turn into *England*, the woful rupture betwixt  
 him and the two Houses following; was our  
 Church party satisfied with the trouble they oc-  
 casioned him? No, they were not: for they did  
 all



all they could to cherish and foment the Houses in their insolent demands, chiefly about Religion: and were as forward in pressing Englands uniformity with Scotland, as they were formerly in condemning the design of bringing Scotland to an uniformity with England. X

I shal not engage further in the differences betwixt the King and the two Houses, then to shew that His Majesty had the Law clearly of his side, since he not only consented to the redress of all grievances, for which the least color of Law was alledged; but had also yielded to larger concessions for securing the fears of his subjects, then had been granted by all the Kings of England since the Conquest. Yet their demands were unsatisfiable without His Majesty had consented to the abolishing of Episcopacy, and discharge of the Liturgy, which neither his conscience, nor the Laws of England allowed of: so that the following war cannot be said to have gone on the principles of defending Religion; since His Majesty was invading no part of the established Religion. And thus you see, that the war in England was for advancing a pretence of Religion. And for Scotland's part in it, no Sophistry will prove it defensive: for His Majesty had settled all matters to their hearts desire, and by many frequent and solemn protestations, declared his resolutions of observing invio-



inviolably that agreement : neither did he so much as require their assistance in that just defence of his authority , and the Laws , invaded by the two Houses : though in the explication of the Covenant , anno 1639. it was agreed to, and sworn , That they should in quiet manner , or in arms ; defend His Majesties authority , within or without the Kingdom , as they should be required by His Majestie , or any having his Authority. But all the King desired was, that Scotland might ly neutral in the quarrel , enjoying their happy tranquillity : yet this was not enough for your Churches zeal , but they remonstrated that Prelacy was the great mountain stood in the way of Reformation , which must be removed , and they sent their Commissioners to the King with these desires , which His Majestie answered by a writing yet extant under his own Royal hand, showing , That the present settlement of the Church of England was so rooted in the Law , that he could not consent to a change , till a new form were agreed to , and presented to him : to which these at Westminster had no mind : but he offered all ease to tender consciences , and to call a Synod to judge of these differences , to which he was willing to call some Divines from Scotland , for hearing their opinions & reasons. At that time , petitions came in from several Presbyteries in Scotland , to the Conservators of the Peace , inciting them to own the Parliaments



ments quarrel: upon which many of the Nobility, and others, signed a *Gross Petition*, which had no other design, but the diverting these Lords from interrupting the *Peace of Scotland*, by meddling in the *English* quarrel: upon which thunders were given out against these *Petitioners*, both from the Pulpits, and the *Remonstrances* of the *Commission* of the *General Assembly*; and they led processees against all who subscribed it. But *His Majesty* still desired a neutrality from *Scotland*; and though highly provoked by them, yet continued to bear, with more then humane patience, the affronts were put on his authority. Yet for animating the people of *Scotland* into the designed war, the Leaders of that Party did every where study to poyson the people with damnable jealousies of the *Kings inclination to Popery*, of his accession to the *Massacre of Ireland*, and of his designs to subvert by force the late agreement with *Scotland*, if his armies were blessed with success in *England*. It were an endless work to tell all the wayes were used for rooting these wicked jealousies in the peoples hearts: neither were all *His Majesties* protestations able to overcome them: yet in end, when *His Majesty* finding what their *malinations* were, did refuse to admit the Commissioners from *Scotland* to mediat betwixt himself and the Houses, they returned home; and immediately upon that



that, contrary to all the Laws of Scotland, a great meeting of Counsellors, Conservators, and Commissioners for the publick burdens, ordained a Convention of Estates to be summoned, which was never before done without the Kings command, except in the minority of the Kings: neither did they so much as wait for the Kings pleasure, but only signified their resolution to him, and desired His Commands against the day prefixed. Here was an invasion of the Kings Prerogative, which deserved a high censure: yet so far did His Majesties clemency, and love to his native Kingdom lead him, that he dispensed with this transgression, and allowed their sitting in a Convention, provided they meddled not in the business of England, nor raised an army in order to it: But notwithstanding of this, they voted themselves a free Convention; and not restricted to the bounds prescribed in the Kings Letter, which they refused to registrat. And after this, they leagued with England. But having spoke my self out of breath, I quitte the giving account of what follows to *Basilins*.

*Basil.* I have observed one defect in your Narration, for which I will be very favorable to you, because I intend to be guilty of that same fault my self; which is, that you have spoken nothing of the National Covenant, and I mean to say as little of the League. And I am apt to guess that  
your



your silence was designed upon the same grounds that mine is : for indeed I can satisfie my self with nothing I can say upon the *League* , except I told all I know of the arts and manner of its contrivance. And truly, I cannot prevail upon my self at present, for the saying of that. Therefore I will draw a vail over it , and say nothing, till I see further reason for a more full discovery ; and then I am afraid *Isotimus* shal confess, it was not prudently done to have extorted it from me. But to quite this, and pursue the Narration *Phalarceus* hath devolved on me , I shal tell you how Commissioners came from *England* to treat for an army from *Scotland* , for their assistance in the war they were then engaged in against the King : Upon which all articles being agreed to , and a *League* sworn , an army was sent into *England* , which turned the scales that did then hang in an even ballance, to the Kings ruine. And truly, my invention cannot reach an argument, or color , for proving these to have been defensive armes , they being the effect of a combination with the subjects of *England* against our common King. But shal I next tell you what followed after the fatal revolution of things in *England*, upon *His Majesties* trusting himself to the *Scots army* , I am sure I should fill your minds with horror ? For though *His Majesty* offered Concessions , justly to be wondered

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at;



at, he having been willing to quite the *Militia* for diverse years, and to set up *Presbytery* for three years; and that in the mean while there should be a *free Synod*, in order to a final settlement with other great diminutions of Royal Authority; which shew how willing he was at his own cost to have redeemed the *peace of his Kingdoms*: only he added, *that his conscience could not allow him to take the Covenant*, nor authorize it by Law, nor consent to the abolition of *Episcopacy*, or the *Liturgie*; protesting that how soon he could do these things with a good conscience, he should yeeld to all the desires of his subjects: in the mean while, he intreated for a personal Treaty, in order to mutual satisfaction. Yet with how much fury did that Party press the settling of the *Government* without him, the disowning his interest, and the abandoning of his Person to his enemies; though at that very time, the designs of the *Sectarian Party*, against both *Monarchy* and *His Majesties* Person, were breaking out, and had been made known to them by those who understood them well? What followed upon this, I wish my silence could bury from the knowledge of all the world. But, alace! it is too well known what infamy these men brought upon themselves, and their Countrey: which in the opinion of the world, was generally held guilty of that which was the crime of the pre-



prevailing Party, whom the Leaders over-awed and influenced. But after that, when *His Majesty* was made prisoner; when he was carryed up and down by the army; when the army forced both the Houses, and the City of *London*; when the *Treaties* of *Scotland* were violated in all their articles; when the Propositions agreed on by both *Kingdoms*, were laid aside, and the four Bills set in their place, wherein the *Covenant* was not mentioned; when upon *His Majesties* refusing of these he was made prisoner, and the vote of non-addresses passed against him, then did the loyalty of the *Scots Nation* begin again to revive: and what through the sense of duty, what through the remorse of their former actings, every one was forward to real resentments of these unworthy indignities put both on *their King and Countrey*: but when the *Parliament of Scotland* had voted the Countrey to be put in a posture of war for the defence of their *Sovereign*, then where should I end, if I told all the seditious Papers, Preachings, and Discourses of some of the *Clergy*, who contradicted and countermanded the *Parliament* to a hight of unparaelled boldness, even after all their desires, which they gave in a large *Remonstrance*, were granted? But did that satisfie? No: they then took refuge in their *common Sanctuary* of jealousies and fears. They threatened



all who obeyed the commands of the *Parliament*, not only with their *Church-censures*, but with *damnation*. They did every where incite the people to rise in armes against the *Parliament's* forces: and at a *Communion* at *Machlin*, they did so work upon the vulgar, that they prevailed to get them draw up in a *Body*, promising them great assistance both from *G O D* and men. They kept a *correspondence* with the *Sectarian army*, and continued by many Letters to press their speedy march unto *Scotland*; and after the *Scots army* marched unto *England*, and was by the wise judgement of *G O D* defeated. Then did many of the Ministers, with all the vehemence imaginable, inflame the people to rebellion, and got them to rise, and they marched before their *Parishes* like Captains. They also called for the help of the *Sectarian army* to them. And thus did they stand to the *Covenant*, in maintaining the *Priviledges of Parliament*, and preserving the *Kings person and authority*. And when *His Majesty* was murdered, what attempts made they for the preservation of *His Person*, or for the resenting it after it was done? This was the loyalty of that Party; and this is what all Princes may expect from you, unless they be absolutely at your devotion. Let these things declare whither these wars went upon the grounds of a pure defence. But if next to this,



I should reckon up the instances of cruelty that appeared in your Judicatories for several years, I should have too large a Theam to run through in a short discourse. What cruel acts were made against all who would not sign the *Covenant*? They were declared enemies to GOD, the King, and the Countrey. Their persons were appointed to be seized on, and their goods confiscated. And in the *November* of the year 1643. when some of the most eminent of the Nobility refused to sign the *Covenant*, commissions were given to souldiers to go bring them in prisoners, warranting them to kill them if they made resistance. And, pray, whither had this more of the cruelty of *Antichrist*, or of the meekness of *JESUS*? Or shal I next tell you of the *bloody Tribunals* were at *S. Andrews*, and other places after *Philips-haugh*? And of the cruelty against those prisoners of war, who bore arms at the Kings command, and in defence of his authority? What bloody Stories could I here tell, if I had not a greater horror at the relating them, then many of these high pretenders had at the acting of them? And should I here recount the procedure of the *Kirk Judicatories*, against all who were thought disaffected, I would be lookt on as one telling *Romances*, they being beyond credit? What *Processes* of *Ministers* are yet upon record, which have no



better foundation then their not-preaching to the times: their speaking with, or praying before *My Lord Montrose*: their not railing at the *Engagement*, and the like? And what cruelty was practised in the years 1649. and 1650? None of us are so young, but we may remember of it. A single death of one of the greatest of the Kingdom, could not satisfie the blood-thirsty malice of that Party, unless made formidable and disgraceful, with all the shameful pageantry could be devised. Pray, do you think these things are forgotten? Or shal I go about to narrate, and prove them more particularly? I confess, it is a strange thing to see men who are so obnoxious, notwithstanding of that so exalted in their own conceits: and withall remember that the things I have hinted at, were not the particular actings of single and privat persons, but the publick & owned proceedings of the Courts and Judicatories. These are the grounds which perswade me that with whatsoever fair colors some may vernish these things, yet the spirit that then acted in that Party, was not the Spirit of GOD.

*Isot.* Truly, you have given in a high charge against the proceedings of the late times, which as I ought not to believe upon your assertion, so I cannot well answer; those being matters of fact, and done most of them before I was capable of  
of



of observing things: And therefore when I see men of greater experience, I shal ask after the truth of what you have told me. But whatever might be the design of some Politicians at that time, or to whatever bad sense some words of the *League* may be stretched, yet you cannot deny, but they are capable of a good sense, and in that I own them, and so cleave to that Oath of G O D, which was intended for a solemn covenanting with G O D: and the people meant nothing else by it, but giving themselves to C H R I S T: to whose truths and Ordinances they resolved to adhere at all hazards, and against all opposition: and in particular to oppose every thing might bear down the power and progress of Religion, which was the constant effect of Prelacy: therefore we are all bound to oppose it upon all hazards. And indeed when I remember of the beauty of holiness was then every where, and consider the licentious profanity, & scoffing at Religion, which now abounds: this is stronger with me then all arguments, to perswade me that these were the men of G O D, who had his glory before their eyes in all they did, or designed: whereas now I see every one seeking their own things, and none the things of J E S U S C H R I S T. And all these plagues and evils which these Kingdoms do either groan under, or may apprehend, ought to be



imputed to **G O D S** avenging wrath for a broken Covenant; which though taken by all from the highest to the lowest, is now condemned, reviled, abjured, and shamefully broken. These things should afflict our souls, and set us to our mournings, if haply **G O D** may turn from the fierceness of his anger.

*Phil.* As for these Articles that relate to the combination for engaging by arms in prejudice of the Kings authority, or may seem to bind us to the reading these Tragedies, they being founded on the lawfulness of subjects resisting their Sovereigns, if the unlawfulness of that was already evinced, then any obligation can be in that compact for that effect, must be of it self null and void: and therefore, as from the beginning it was sinful to engage in these wars; so it will be yet more unlawful, if after all the evils we have seen, and the judgements we have smarted under, any would lick up that vomit: or pretend to bind a ty on the subjects consciences to rise in arms against their lawful Sovereign. And let me tell you freely, I cannot be so blind or stupid, as not to apprehend that **G O D S** wrath hath appeared very visibly against us now, for a tract of thirty years and more; neither doth his anger seem to be turned away, but his hand is stretched out still. But that which I look on as the great matter of his controversy-



versie with us, is that the Rulers of our Church and State did engage the ignorant multitude, under the colors of *Religion*, to despise the *LORDS* anointed, and his authority, and by armes to shake off his yolk, and afterwards abandon his Person, disown his interest, refuse to engage for his rescue, and in end look on tamely, and see him murdered. Do you think it a smal crime that nothing could satisfie the Leaders in that time, without they got the poor people entangled into things which they knew the vulgar did not, and could not understand, or judge of, and must implicitly rely upon the Glosses of their Teachers? For whatever the *General Assembly* declared, was a duty following upon the *Covenant* (which was an easie thing for the leading men to carry as they pleased) then all the Ministers must either have preached and published that to their people, with all their zeal, otherwise they were sure to be turned out. The people being thus provoked from the Pulpits, they were indeed to be pitied, who being engaged in an oath (many of them, no doubt, in singleness of heart, having the fear of an oath upon their consciences) and not being able to examine things to bottom, were entangled thus, and engaged which way the *leading Church-men* pleased. And the guilt of this, as it was great in those who without due consideration engaged in



in those oaths, so it was most fearful in them; who against the clear *convictions of conscience*, were prevailed upon by the thunders of the Church, or the threats of the State, to swear what they judged sinful. I confess, their crime was of a high and crying nature, who did thus for the love of this present world, not only make *shipwreck of a good conscience*, but persisted long in a tract of dissembling with G O D, and juggling with men. But the wickedness of this comes mainly to their door, who tempted them to perjurication by their severities against all refused a concurrence in these courses. And the sin of all this was the greater, that it was carryed on with such pretences, as if it had been the cause and work of G O D; with fasting, prayers, tears, and shews of devotion. For these things the Land mourns, and G O D continues his controversy against us. To which I must add, the great impenitence of those who being once engaged in that course of *rebellion*, have not yet repented of the works of their hands. For even such as own a *conviction* for it, do not express that horror and remorse at their bypast crimes which become penitents: - But think if by ryoting, drinking and swearing, they declare themselves now of another mind then formerly they were of, that they are washed free of that defilement. In a word, none seem deeply humbled in the  
presence



presence of G O D , for the sinfulness of these practises, into which they entered themselves, and engaged others. And till I see an ingenuous spirit of *confessing and repenting* for these great evils, for all that rebellion, that blood, oppression, and vastation which these courses drew on, I shal never expect a *National pardon*, for that *National guilt*. For when on the one hand, many are still justifying these black arts, and not humbled for them, nor owning their penitence as openly as they committed their sins: And on the other hand, these who confess the faultiness of these courses, do it in a spirit of traducing others, of railing, and reviling, perhaps not without Atheistical scoffings at *true Religion*; but not in a spirit of ingenuous horror, and sorrow for their own accession to these courses, it appears we are still hardened, either into a judicial blindness of the one hand, or of obduration of heart on the other. That profanity doth much abound, I must with sorrow confess it, in the presence of my G O D : And I know there are many who roll themselves in the dust daily before G O D , and mourn bitterly for it: But when I enter in a deeper inquiry what may be the true causes of it, those that occur to me are, first, a judicial stroke from G O D upon us, for our hypast abominations: and chiefly for our hypocritical mocking of G O D , fastning the  
designs



designs or humors of a Party on him, as if they had been his Ordinances, interests, and truths. And therefore because we held the truth of **GOD** in *unrighteousness*, his wrath hath been revealed against us. Next, the frequent involving the Land in reiterated oaths, subscriptions, and professions of repentance, under severe censures, which prevailed with many to swallow them over implicitly, and made others yeeld to them against their conscience, hath so debauched and prostituted the souls of people, that it is no wonder, they be now, as feared with a hot iron, and incapable of reproofs or convictions. Besides, is it any wonder that these whose hearts naturally led them to Atheism, when they see what juggling was used about some pretences of Religion, and how the whole land was involved in so much blood, about such trifling matters, come thereupon to have a jealousy of Preachers and preaching, as if all they said, was but to maintain and advance their own interests and greatness, and thereupon turn scoffers at all Religion, because of the base and irreligious practises of some, who yet vouched **GOD** and **CHRIST** for all they did? And on remark I shal offer on the way, that the sin of your Church was legible in your judgement: their sin was the animating the people to rebellion, upon colors of Religion; and their judgement was, not only



only to be subdued, & oppressed by another rebellious army, who were not wanting to pretend highly to the cause of GOD in all their actions: but that they brake in pieces among themselves about a decision, who might be employed to serve in the Army, which at first disjointed, and afterwards destroyed your Church: and the schism is still among us, which is like to eat up the power of Religion, is but the dreg and genuine effect of these courses, and so all the prejudice it produceth to Religion, and the true interests of souls is to be charged upon that same score.

*Isot.* Really, I am much scandalized with this discourse, which if it were heard abroad, I know would much offend the hearts of the LORDS people. And indeed, I think it ought not to be answered, no more then *Rabshakehs railings* were by *Sliakim*. I wish I could with good *Hezekiah* spread it out before the LORD, and mourn over it, and for you who do so blaspheme GOD, and his cause. But whatever you may say in the point of resistance, yet you cannot deny, but we are all from the highest to the lowest bound in our stations (at least) to withstand Prelacy, against which we did so formally swear in that oath of GOD, which most of you are not only content to break, but must needs despise and mock at.

*Phil.*



*Phil.* GOD is my witness, how little pleasure I have in this severe discourse, into which the petulancy of these Writers hath engaged me: but examine what I said from *Religion* and *reason*, and you will perhaps change your verdict of it. For my part, I say none of these things in a corner, neither do I expect that they shal not fly abroad, and if they do, I will look for all the severities which the censures and malice of many can amount to. But I will chearfully bear that cross, and will be content to be yet more vile, for declaring freely what I judge to be GODS controversy with the Land I live in. If for this love to souls, many be my adversaries, I will betake my self to prayer: and shal only add this, that few who know me, suspect my temper guilty either of flattery or bitterness. And the searcher of hearts knows, that I neither design by this freedom, to commend my self to any, nor to disgrace others, but meerly to propose things as they are. If this produce any good effect, I have my design; if not, I have discharged my conscience, and leave the issue of it with GOD, who can out of the mouthes of babes and sucklings, ordain strength and perfect praise.

As for any obligation you may suppose the Covenant brings upon us to oppose Episcopacy, I shal discuss it with all the clearness I am  
master



master of. I shal not tell you, how much many who took that Covenant, and do still plead its obligation have said ( from the words of the second Article, and the explication given in it to Prelacy ) for reconciling as much of Episcopacy as is settled among us, to it, according to the declared meaning of its first imposers, when they took it, and authorized it. But leaving you and them to contend about this, upon the whole matter consider, that Episcopacy is either necessary, unlawful, or indifferent: if the first be true, then you will without much ado confess that no oath in prejudice of a necessary duty, can bind any ty upon our conscience. If it be unlawful, I shal freely acknowledge that from the oaths of the Covenants, there is a supervenient ty lying on us for its extirpation. But if it be indifferent, then I say it was a very great sin for a Nation, so far to bind up their Christian liberty, as by oath to determine themselves to that to which GOD had not obliged them: for the circumstances of things indifferent, may so far vary, that what is of it self indifferent, may by the change of these become necessary, or unlawful. Therefore, in these matters, it is a great invasion of our Christian liberty, to fetter consciences with oaths. And though the Rulers and chief Magistrats of a Society, have either rashly or out of fear, or upon other unjustifiable accounts



accounts, sworn an oath, about indifferent things, which afterwards becomes highly prejudicial to the *Society*; then they must consider that the *Government* of that *State* is put in their hands by *G O D*, to whom they must answer for their administration. Therefore they stand bound by the *Laws of Nature*, of *Religion*, and of *all Societies*, to do every thing that may tend most for the good of the *Society*. And if a case fall in where a thing tends much to the good and peace of a Land, but the *Prince* stands bound some way or other by oath against it, he did indeed sin by so swearing; but should sin much more, if by reason of that oath he judged himself limited from doing what might prove for the good of the *Society*. Indeed when an oath concerns only a mans privat rights, it tyes him to performance, though to his hurt; but the administration of *Government* is none of these rights a *Magistrat* may dispose of at pleasure; For he must conduct himself so, as he shal be answerable to *G O D*, whose *Vicegerent* he is: and when these two obligations interfere; the one of procuring the good of the *Society*, the other of adhering to an oath, so that they stand in termes of direct opposition, then certainly the greater must swallow up the lesser. It is therefore to be under consideration, whither the obligation of procuring the good of the *Society*, or  
that



that of the Magistrats oath be the greater? But this must be soon decided, if it be considered that the former is an obligation lying on him by G O D, who for that end raised him up to his power, and is indeed the very end of *Government*: whereas the other is a voluntary engagement he hath taken on himself, and can never be equal to that which was antecedent to it, much less juttle it out. But if it contradict the other, the Magistrat is indeed bound to repent for his rash swearing; but cannot be imagined from that to be bound to go against the good of the *Society*, for the procuring whereof, he hath the sword and power put in his hands by G O D. And so much of the ty can ly upon a Magistrat by his oath about things indifferent, in ordering or governing the State that is subject to him: in which he must proceed as he shal answer to G O D in the great day of his accounts; and ought not to be censured or judged for what he doth by his subjects.

But he enacting Laws in matters indifferent, they become necessary obligations on his subjects, which no privat oath of theirs can make void. Indeed the late Writer his arguing against this, is so subtil, that I cannot comprehend it so far as to find sense in it; for he confesseth, *Pag. 232. That the Magistrat is vested with a power proportional to the ends of Government, so that no*



subject may decline his lawful commands, or bind himself by any such oath, as may interfere with a supervenient rational command. All this is sound, and indeed all I pleaded; only his explication of *rational*, I cannot allow of: For though a Magistrat may proceed to unreasonable commands, yet I see no limits set to our obedience, but from the unlawfulness of them. But in the next page, he eats all this up by telling, *That there are many things still left to our selves, and our own free disposal, wherein we may freely vow: and having vowed, must not break our word.* And for instance, he adduceth a mans devoting the tenth of his substance to the LORD, from which no countermand of the Magistrats can excuse. But still he concluds, Page 234. *That the Magistrats Power may make void such vows as are directly, or designedly made to frustrat its right, or to suspend the execution of others, in so far as they do eventually cross its lawful exercise.* This last yeelds to me all I pretend in this case: For the Covenant being made on purpose to exclud *Episcopacy*, though at that time settled by Law: if *Episcopacy* be not unlawful, but lawful, which I now suppose, then the Kings authority enjoyning it, and it being a great part likewise of the Government of the subjects, it is to be submitted to, notwithstanding of the oath made against it. So that your friend yeelds without consideration, that which he thinks he denyes:  
and



and therefore the reasoning in the *Dialogues* holds good, that the oath of a subject in a matter indifferent, cannot free him from the obedience he owes the Laws. It is true, his *private* vows in matters of his own concern, are of another nature, and so not within the compass of this debate, which is only about *the obedience we owe the Laws*, supposing their matter lawful, notwithstanding of our compacts made in opposition to them: and therefore I shal not discourse of them, but stick close to the purpose in hand. But my next undertaking must be to free children from any ty may be imagined to ly on them from the fathers oath: which was a matter so clear to my thinking, that I wonder what can be said against it.

*Isot.* Indeed here your friend the *Conformist* bewrayed his ignorance notably, not considering the authority *Parēts* have over their children by *divine command*, which dies not with them; their commands being obligatory even after their death: For *GOD* commends the *Rechabims* for obeying *Jonadabs* command some ages after his death: Therefore Parents adjuring children, they are obliged by it; as the people of *Israel* by *Sauls* adjuring them not to eat food till the evening; were obliged to obedience. And such adjurations may not only bind the children adjured, but all their posterity after them: as



did the oath for carrying *Josephs* bones out of *Egypt*. And further, a *Society* continuing still under the same notion, is bound through all ages to make good the compacts of their *Progenitors*, they continuing to be the same *Society*. And this is not only the ground on which the obligation of all alliances among Kingdoms is founded; but is also the *basis* on which our ty to the *Allegiance due to our Sovereign* is grounded. Therefore as we find *G O D* in Scripture covenanting with men, and their posterity, as in *Abrahams* case, and fathers likewise engaging to *G O D* for themselves and their children, as did *Jeshuab* for himself and his house; so our *Covenants* being unanimously sworn by almost the whole Nation, and confirmed by all the authority in it, must have a perpetual obligation on all the subsequent generations. See from pag. 205. to pag. 219.

*Phit.* I suppose, if it hold good that the *Covenant* binds not these who took it, to oppose or extirpat *Episcopacy* when settled by Law, all this reasoning will of it self evanish in smoak: But to give your discourse all advantage, and to yeeld its obligation on these who took it, what you infer will never be made out; since it is founded on the supposition of a Parents authority to adjure his child, that tyes him after his fathers death, which you apply to the *Covenāt*. But  
in



in this there is a triple error committed by you : one of fact, and two of right. That of fact, is, that you suppose that in the *Covenant* the subsequent *generations* are adjured to its observance : whereas not a word of this is in the *Covenant*. On the contrary, in the end of the Preface to the *League*, it is said, that *every one for himself doth swear* : Neither is there a word in it all that imports an adjuration on *posterity*. It is true, in the 5. *Article*, every one is bound according to their place and interest, to endeavor that the *Kingdoms may remain conjoyned in a firm peace and union to all posterity*. But he that will draw an adjuration on posterity from this, must have a new Art of *Logick*, not yet known. And in the *National Covenant*, as it was taken by King *James*, there is not a word that imports an adjuration on *posterity*. It is true, in the *Addition* was made to it, *Anno 1638*. it is declared, *That they are convinced in their minds, and confess with their mouthes, that the present and subsequent generations in this Land, were bound to keep that National Oath and subscription inviolable*. But this was only their opinion who signed it : Yet for all that, there is no adjuration on *posterity* for observing it, no not in that *Addition* then sworn to. The next error of your *Hypothesis*, is, that the Parents commands can bind the *childrens conscience*, in prejudice of the Magistrats authority : for you



must either suppose this, otherwise your arguing is to no purpose, since the Kings authority is in this case interposed, and therefore all our fathers commands must yeeld to it: which because none deny, I shal not stand to evince. For if my father be bound to obey the King, as well as I am; both he sins, if he enjoyn me disobedience, and I am likewise guilty, if upon that I disobey. For he that hath no warrant for his own disobedience, can be imagined to have none for securing me in mine. And in end, you suppose a Parents command or authority can bind the conscience after his death: which is manifestly absurd: for certainly his authority must die with himself. It is true, a piety & reverence is due to the memory of our Parents; & so much reverence should be payed to their ashes, that without a very good reason, the things they enjoyned should be religiously observed: but this is not a necessary obligation: for circumstances may so vary things, that we may be assured, that as our Parents enjoyned such a thing, so had they seen the inconveniences of it, they had not done it. Now while a father lives, a child hath this liberty to argue with him; wherein it is not to be doubted, but the affection of a Parent, together with the reasons adduced would make him change his Commands: but indeed did their Commands ty us  
after



after their death, we should be more in subjection to our Parents, when dead, then we were when they lived: which goeth against the sense of all mankind. And what equality is there in such mens reasons, who will deny absolute obedience to Magistrats, though we be allowed to petition, and represent the grievances their Laws being upon us, and yet will assert an absolut and blind obedience due to the commands of our Parents, though dead? Your instance of the *Rechabits* makes against you, for their Progenitors had appointed them to dwell in tents, yet the fear of *Nebuchadnezar* had driven them to *Jerusalem*: and consider if the incurring our lawful Sovereigns displeasure, together with the hazard such obedience may draw after it, be not a juster ground of excusing our selves from obedience to any such command, suppose it were real. The *Rechabits* did indeed abstain from wine, upon *Jonadabs* command, for which they are commended, and blessed; and so I acknowledge it a piece of piety to obey the commands even of a dead father; yet in that place, it is not asserted, that that command tyed their conscience; but on the contrary, the blessing passed upon their obedience, seems rather to imply that it was voluntary, though generous and dutiful. The same answer is to be made to *Josephs* adjuring the chil-



dren of *Israel* to carry up his bones; which ought to have obliged even the children of these that were so adjured, out of the gratitude due to the memory of so great a man, especially nothing interveening that rendered obedience to it, either unexpedient or unlawful.

But in general, consider that when a contract is made, either of an *association* under a form and line of Magistracy, or of alliance betwixt two States, and confirmed by oath; there is an obligation of justice that ariseth from the compact, whereby such rights were translated unto the person compacted with: and thereby he and his posterity according to the Compact, are to enjoy these rights, because translated unto his person by the compact: but being once legally his, with a provision that they shal descend to his heirs, then his heirs have a right to them formally in their persons after his death, to which they have a tittle in justice, and not by the fidelity to which the posterity of the first compacters are bound by their fathers deed, but because the right is now theirs: so that though the first compacters were bound by promise and oath, their successors are only bound by the rules of justice, of giving to every man that which is his right: therefore whatever our *Ancestors* may be supposed to have compacted with the *Kings Progenitors*, or whatever by Treaty  
one



one State yeelds over to another, that *Promise, Donation and Oath* is indeed the ground on which the Kings right may be supposed to have been first founded. But now his title to our obedience proceeds upon the rules of justice, (of giving him what is his, by an immemorial possession, passed all prescription, so many ages ago, that the first vestiges of it cannot be traced from *Records*, or certain *Histories*) and not of fidelity of observing the promises of our *Ancestors* to him, though I do not deny a pious veneration to be due to the promises and oaths of Parents, when they contain in them adjurations on their children. And thus the *Gibeonites* having a right to their lives, confirmed to them by the compact of the Princes of *Israel*: they and their posterity had a good title in justice to their lives, which was basely invaded by *Saul*, and had this aggravation that the compact made with them was confirmed by oath, for which their posterity should have had a just veneration: But though that oath did at first found their title to their lives, and their exemption from the forfeiture all the *Amorites* lay under; yet afterwards their title was preserved upon the *rules of Justice*, and the *Laws of Nature*, which forbid the invading the lives of our neighbors, when by no injury they forfeit them. Thus your confounding the titles of inheritance



heritance and prescription, from the grounds upon which they first accresced, hath engaged you into all this mistaking. But from all this, you see how ill founded that reasoning of the *Answerer of the Dialogues* is, for proving the posterity of these who took the *Covenant*, tyed by their fathers oath, which yet at first view, promised as fair colors of reason, as any part of his Book, had he not intermixed it with shameful insultings and railings at the *Conformist*: which I suppose do now appear as ill grounded, as they are cruel and base. But I am not so much in love with that stile, as to recriminat: nor shal I tell you of his errors that way of which I am in good earnest ashamed upon his account: For it is a strange thing, if a man cannot answer a discourse without he fall a flearing and railing. To conclude this whole purpose, I am mistaken, if much doubting will remain with an ingenuous and unprejudged Reader, if either we or our posterity ly under any obligation from the *Covenants*, to contradict or counteract the Laws of the Land, supposing the matter of them lawful: which being a large subject, will require a discourse apart. But I will next examine some practises among us, and chiefly that of Schism and separation from the publick worship of G O D; to which both the unity of the Spirit, which we ought to preserve in the bond  
of



of peace, and the lawful commands of these in authority, do so bind us, that I will be glad to hear what can be alledged for it.

*Isot.* A great difference is to be made betwixt separation and non-compliance: the one is a withdrawing from what was once owned to be the Church: the other is a withholding our concurrence from what we judge brought in upon the Church, against both reason and Religion: & any thing you can draw from CHRIST'S practise or precept, in acknowledging the High Priests, or commanding the people to observe what the *Pharisees* taught them, is not applicable to this purpose: For first, these were Civil Magistrats, as well as Ecclesiasticks, and Doctors of the Civil and Judicial Law, which is different from the case of Church-men with us. Further, the *Jewish* Church was still in possession of the priviledges given them from GOD, and so till CHRIST erected his Church, they were the Church of GOD: and therefore to be acknowledged, and joyned with in worship. But how vastly differs our case from this? See from p. 189. to p. 204.

*Phil.* You have given a short account of the large reasonings of the late Book on this head, only he is so browilled in it, that there are whole pages in his discourse, which I confess my weakness cannot reach. But to clear the way  
for



for your satisfaction in this matter, which I look upon as that of greatest concernment, next to the doctrine of non-resistance, of any thing is debated among us; since it dissolves the unity of the Church, and opens a patent door to all disorder, ignorance and profanity. I shall consider what the unity of the Church is, and in what manner we are bound to maintain and preserve it.

All Christians are commanded to love one another, and to live in peace together: and in order to this, they must also unite, and concur in joint prayers, adorations, and other acts of Worship, to express the harmony of their love in divine matters: Sacraments were also instituted for uniting the body together; being solemn and federal stipulations, made with GOD, in the hands of some who are his Ambassadors and representatives upon earth: by whose mouths the Worship is chiefly offered up to GOD, and who must be solemnly called and separated for their employment. Now these Assemblings of the Saints are not to be forsaken, till there be such a corruption in the constitution of them, or in some part of the worship, that we cannot escape the guilt of that, without we separate our selves from these unclean things. Wherefore the warning is given, *Come out of Babylon, that we be not partakers of her*  
*sins*



*sins, and so receive not of her plagues.* But though there be very great and visible corruptions in a Church; yet as long as our joyning in worship in the solemn Assemblies, doth not necessarily involve us into a consent or concurrence with these; we ought never to withdraw, nor rent the unity of the body, whereof CHRIST is the head. Consider, *how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.* And our Savior sheweth of what importance he judged it to his Church, since so great a part of his last and most ravishing Prayer, is, *That they might be one:* And this he five times repeats, comparing the Unity he prayed for, to the *undivided Unity was betwixt him and his Father.* How shal these words rise up in Judgement, against those who have broken these *bonds of perfection* upon slight grounds! With the same earnestness do we find the Apostles pressing the *Unity of the Body, and Charity* among all the members of it: which is no where more amply done then in the *Epistles to the Corinthians*, whom the Apostle calls, *the Churches of GOD*; and yet there were among them false Teachers, who studied to prey upon them, and to strike out the *Apostles authority*: Some among them denied the *resurrection*, there were contentions and disorders among them in their meetings: such confusions were from the *strange Tongues* some spoke, that had one unacquainted



quainted with them, come in upon them, he had judged them mad: some were drunk when they did receive the LORDS Supper: they had an incestuous person in their *Society*; and it seems he was of quality, and much accounted of; since they were puffed up with him: they were also a scandal to the Gospel with their litigious Law suits. These were great evils, and I hope beyond what you can charge on us: and yet though the Apostle commands them to be redressed, and rectified, doth he ever allow of these in *Corinth*, who were pure and holy, to forsake the *solemn Assemblies*, till these things were amended? Or doth he not highly commend *Charity and Unity* to them? Next, consider what Teachers these were who preached *CHRIST* of envy and strife, out of contention, and not sincerely, that they might add affliction to the Apostles bonds: And yet of these *S. Pauls* verdict is, *What then? notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence, or in truth, CHRIST is preached, and I therein do rejoyce, yea, and will rejoyce.* Now if he rejoyced that *CHRIST* was preached at any rate, what Spirit have they, who because they suppose some preach out of envy, or design to add to their affliction, do thereupon study to blast their *reputation*, and to withdraw first the hearts, and then the ears of all from them? Certainly, this is not the Spirit of Christ



CHRIST, or of his Apostles. And though we see what corruptions had crept into the Churches of *Asia*, yet in the *Epistles* to them in the *Revelation*, they are still called the Churches of GOD, in the midst of whom the Son of GOD walked. They are indeed commanded to reform any corruptions were among them; but such as *had not that doctrine, and knew not the depths of Satan, but had kept their garments clean*, are not commanded to separat from the rest: on the contrary, *no other burden is laid upon them*; nor are they charged for not separating from the rest. From which premises I may infer, that as long as the *Communion of Saints* may be kept up, without our being polluted in some piece of sinful concurrence, all are bound to it, under the hazard of tearing CHRIST'S body to pieces. And this stands also with the clearest reason; for since *Unity* is that which holds all the body firm, whereas *division* dislocats and weakens it; nothing doth more defeat the ends of *Religion*, and overturn the power of *godlineß*, then *Schismes* and *contentions*; which give the greatest offence to the little ones, and the fullest advantages to the common enemy imaginable. If therefore the worship of GOD among us continue undefiled, even in the confession of all; if the Sacraments be administred as before; if the persons that officiat be Ministers of the Gospel,



Gospel, then certainly such as separat from our publick Meetings, do *forsake the Assemblies of the Saints*, and so break the unity of the Spirit, and the bond of peace. And what you said of a non-compliance as distinct from separation, hath no relation to this purpose, where nothing of a compliance is in the case, but only a joyning with the *Saints in solemn worship*. And doth the change of the *Government of the Church*, in so smal a matter as the fixing a constant President, with some *additions* of power over your *Synods*, in stead of your *ambulatory Moderators*, derive a contagion into our worship, so that without a sin it cannot be joyned in? Indeed if a concurrence of worship required an owning of every particular in the constitution of the Church, a man must go to the *New Atlantis* to seek a *Society* he shal joyn with, since few of clear unprepossessed minds will find such *Societies* in the known Regions of the world, against all whose constitutions they have not some just exceptions: and the world shal have as many parties as persons, if this be not fixed as the *rule of Unity*, that we cleave to it, ever till we be driven to do somewhat which with a good conscience we cannot yeeld to. And even in that case, except the corruption be great and deep, a bare withdrawing, without a direct opposition, is all we are bound to. You are therefore guilty of a direct separation  
who



who forsake the *Assemblies of the Saints*, they continuing in their former purity, unchanged and unmixed, even in your own principles.

*Isot.* But one thing is not considered by you, which is a main point, that we had our Church settled, according to CHRIST'S appointment, and ratified by Law. And a change of that being made, all our faithful Ministers were turned out by the tyranny of the present Powers; who in stead thereof, have set up a new form of *Government*, of none of CHRIST'S appointment: and to maintain it, have thrust in upon the LORDS people, a company of weak, ignorant, scandalous and godless men, called *Curats*; who in stead of edifying, study to destroy the flock: of whom I could say much, had I a little of your virulent temper: But their own actions have so painted them out to the world, that I may well spare my labor of making them better known, it being as unnecessary, as it is unpleasant. Now if the true seekers of GOD do still stick to their old Teachers, and seek wholesome food from them in corners, and are afraid of your false Teachers, according to CHRIST'S command, of being aware of such men; call you this a *separation*? which is rather an adherence to the true Church, and the *keeping of our garments clean* from the contagion of these men. And indeed these who

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do joyn with your *Curats*, do profit so little by their Ministry, that no wonder others have no heart to it. And I have known some whose *consciencs* are so tender in this matter, that their having at sometimes joyned with these *Curats* in worship, hath been matter of mourning to them, even to their graves. And this may serve to clear us of the guilt of *Schism* in this matter, when our withdrawing is only a *non-compliance* with your corruption.

*Phil.* All this saith nothing for justifying your *separation*. As for the turning out of your *Ministers*, if the Laws to which their obedience was required were just (which shal be next considered) then their *prejudices*, *misinformed consciences*, or *pievishness*, and not the tyranny of the Rulers, must bear the blame of it. And for these set in their places, if upon so great a desertion of the Church by so many Churchmen, all their charges could not be of a sudden supplied with men so well qualified, or of such gifts and worth as was to be desired; it is nothing but what might have been expected upon such an occasion. And for your revilings, they well become the spirit which appears too visibly in the rest of your actings; but we still study to bear these base and cruel reflections, with the patience becoming the *Ministers of the Gospel*, and of these who study to learn of him, *who when*  
*he*



he was reviled, reviled not again, but stood silent at these unjust Tribunals, when he was falsely and blasphemously reproached by his enemies; and therefore I shal leave answering of these fearful imputations you charge on our Clergy, to the great day of reckoning, wherein judgement shal return to the righteous, and all the upright in heart shal follow it. And in the mean while shal study to bleß when you curse, and pray for you who do thus despitefully use us. We trust our witness is on high, that whatever defects cleave to us, and though may be, we have not wanted a corrupt mixture (as you know among whom there was a son of perdition) yet we are free of these things you charge on us promiscuously, and that these imputations you charge us with, are as false as they are base. But all this will not serve the turn of many of your dividers, whose Ministers continue with them as formerly, and meerly because they hold themselves bound in conscience to obey the Laws they are separated from. Truly if you can clear this of separation, you are a Master at subtil reasoning. For you know it is not the third part of this Church which was abandoned by the former Ministers upon the late change, and yet the humor of separating is universal. And though some few of your own Ministers have had the honest zeal to witness against this separation, yet how have



they been pelted for it by the censures and writings of other *Schismaticks*? which hath prevailed so much upon the fear or prudence of others, that whatever mislike they had of these *separating practises*, yet they were willing either to comply in practise, or to be silent *spectators* of so great an evil. But if *separation* be a sin, it must have a guilt of a high nature, and such as all who would be thought zealous watch-men, ought to warn their people of. And what shal be said of these (even Church-men) who at a time when the Laws are sharply looked to, do joyn in our worship; but if there be an unbending in these, they not only withdraw, and become thereby a scandal to others, but draw about them divided Meetings; are not these time-servers? For if concurrence in our worship be lawful, and to be done at any time, it must be a duty which should be done at all times: and therefore such *Masters of conscience* ought to express an equality in their ways, and that they make the rules of their *concurrence in worship*, to be the Laws of GOD, and not the fear of civil punishments. Finally, such as think it lawful to joyn in our worship, and yet that they may not displease the people, do withdraw, shew they prefer the pleasing of men to the pleasing of GOD: and that they make more account of the one then of the other. For if it be lawful to *concur in our worship*,  
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what was formerly said, proves it a duty: Are not these then the servants of men, who to please them, dispense with what by their own concession must be a duty? Besides, such persons withdrawing, gives a great and real scandal to the vulgar, who are led by their example, and so a humor of *separating* comes to be derived into all: whereby every one thinks it a piece of Religion, and that which will be sure to make him considerable, and bring customers to him, if he be a Merchant or Trades-man, that he despise the solemn worship, and rail at his Minister: and if he but go to Conventicles, and be concerned in all the humors of the Party, he is sure of a good name, be he as to other things what he will.

*End.* Much of this we know to be too true: and certainly, nothing deserves more blame for all the disorders are among us, then this separation. Discipline goes down, Catechising is despised, the Sacraments are loathed, the solemn Worship deserted. I know the poor *Curats* bear the blame of all, and all of them must be equally condemned; if a few of them have miscarried; for which when ever it was proved, they were censured condignly: In end you charge their gifts, and that their people are not edified by them: But, I pray you, see whither the prejudices you make them drink in



against them , occasion not that. For it is a more then humane work , to overcome prejudices. Read but the complaints of the Prophets , and you will confess a Church-mans not being profitable to his people , will be no good argument to prove him not sent of GOD. And when I consider, that even the Apostles call for the help of the Churches prayers , *that utterance might be given to them* , yea and *desire them to strive together in their prayers for them* ; I must crave leave to tell you , that the defect of that utterance , and power in preaching you charge on the present Preachers , may be well imputed to the want of the concurrence of the peoples Prayers , whom prepossessions have kept from striving together with them in prayer , that they might come among them *with the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel*. And if there be any of such tender and misled consciences , who have been smitten with remorse for such concurrence in worship , as their tendernefs is to be valued , so their ignorance is to be pittied : and they who thus misled them , deserve the heavier censure , since they have involved simple and weak consciences with their pedling Sophistry into such straits and doubts. In fine, you cannot say, that a Minister is by a divine right placed over any particular flock. If then it be humane, it with all other things of that nature, is within  
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the Magistrats cognisance; so that when he removes one, and leaves a legal way patent for bringing in another, upon which there comes one to be placed over that flock, what injustice soever you can fancy in such dealing, yet certainly, it will never free that Parish from the ty of associating in the Publick Worship, or receiving the Sacraments from the hands of that Minister, whom they cannot deny to be a Minister of the Gospel: and therefore no irregularity in the way of his entry, though as great as can be imagined, will warrant the peoples separating from him. Neither can they pretend that the first incumbent is still their Minister, for his relation to them being founded meerly on the Laws of the Church, it is (as was proved in the second Conference) subject to the Magistrats authority, and so lasts no longer then he shal dissolve it by his commands: unless it appear, that he designs the overthrow of true Religion; in which case, I confess Pastors are, according to the practise of the first ages of the Church, to continue at the hazard of all persecutions, and feed their flocks. But this is not applicable to our case, where all that concerns Religion continues as formerly: only some combinations made in prejudice of the supream authority are broken: and order is restored to the Church, in stead of the confusions and divi-



sions were formerly in it. And if this change have occasioned greater disorders, wherever the defect of policy or prudence may be charged, yet certainly, if the change that is made, be found of its own nature both lawful and good, the confusions have followed upon it, are their guilt, who with so little reason, and so much eagerness, have not only refused obedience themselves, but hindred such as were willing to have yeelded it.

*Crit.* Indeed this point of withdrawing from the publick worship, for their faultiness who officiat, or for the errors are supposed to be in the way of their entry, doth so contradict the whole series of the sacred rule, that nothing can be more expressly condemned in it. The sons of *Eli* made the people abhor the offering, and they defiled the Tabernacle of *GOD*; yet for all that, the people continued to come and offer their sacrifices. The Prophets do also tell us what kind of people the Priests in their times were, and yet never a word of the peoples withdrawing from the Worship. Now this must by the parity of reason, hold good under the *New Dispensation*; except you say, we are not so much obliged to worship *GOD* in the unity of the Spirit, as they were; the contrary whereof will be found true. Next, the *High Priesthood* being entailed on the line of *Aaron*,  
was



was certainly to descend ( as all other rights did among the *Jews* ) by the right of representation and primogeniture; and so did *Eleazer* and *Phinehas* follow in a line from *Aaron*. It is true, the *High Priesthood* was afterwards in *Ithamars* line, but it doth not appear by what conveyance it went to them, which certainly must have been divine, if lawful: And none can limit GOD from dispensing with his own positive Laws. But the *High Priesthood* was again set in its own channel by *David*, and so continued downward, till after the second Temple, it becoming the chief Secular Power, was exposed to sale: and this appears from a passage cited by *Doctor Lightfoot* out of the *Talmud* of *Jerusalem*, in the first Temple the *High Priests* still served, the son succeeding the father, and they were eighteen in number: but in the second Temple they got the *High Priesthood* by money. And some say, they destroyed one another by witchcraft: so that some say, there were eighty Priests in that space; some 81. some 82. some 83. some 84. and some 85. And that learned *Doctor* reckons 53. in order, till he bring the succession down to the time of the wars, after which it was so confused, that he pursues it no further. And in the beginning of the 3. chap. of his *Temple-service*, he proves the *High Priesthood* to have descended to the first-born, as the *Priesthood*, before the Law, belonged to the first



first-born of every family. And therefore, it was that when *Simeon the Just* would have put *Onias* his second son in the Priesthood, he could not do it. But *Simeon* the eldest brother obtained his right, and *Onias* was put to fly to *Egypt*, where he built a famous Temple. This will prove that the High Priests in our Saviors time had no just title to their office; and yet our Savior, being by his humiliation in the character of a private person, never questioned it, no not when he was upbraided, as if he had answered G O D S High Priest irreverently, which looks like a case a confession. And *S. Paul* did the same. Now as to what is said of the High Priests being a Civil Magistrat, it will not serve to deliver you; for his title to the Civil Power flowed from his office: therefore the owning him in that, did also acknowledge his office, since he had no other right to the Civil Power, but because he was High Priest, and yet subjection was given him by our L O R D, who acknowledged the High Priest. Did he not also continue in the Temple Worship, and go thither on their festivities? where you know he must have offered sacrifices by the hands of these Priests: and yet we know well enough what a sort of people they were. If then we are no less bound under the Gospel to the rules of Order and Unity, then they were under the Law,



Law, it will follow that no personal corruption of Church-men, can warrant a separation from Worship, even though their opinions were erroneous, and their practises naughty: for the impertinency of the distinction of *non-compliance* and *separation* was already proved. But next to the Temple-worship, was the service of the *Synagogue*, which was for most part in the hands of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, who expounded the Law to the people: And CHRIST commanding the people to *observe what they taught*, shews clearly his pleasure was, that they should not forsake the *Synagogues* where they taught: And his own going to the *Synagogues*, in which it is not to be doubted but he concurred in the *Prayers* and *Hymns*, proves abundantly that their Worship was not to be separated from. As for your friends involved discourse, about the declining of Churches, *Pag. 193.* I must let it alone, till I can make sense of it: For if he intend to compare our LORD and his Apostles, their joyning in the *Jewish Worship*, with the misguided, though sincere devotion, of some holy souls who worshipped GOD with all the corruptions of the *Roman Church*, I hope he will repent the blasphemy of such a mistake. And as for what is alledged, *Pag. 198.* that the *Jewish Dispensation* being mixed, and their Law made up of *matters Political*, as well as  
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*Spiritual*, therefore these *Scribes* were the Oracles of the *Civil Law*, and so to be gone to, it is as weak as the rest: For the Law being to be sought from the *Priests lips*, as to all the parts of it, any power the *Priests* had of pronouncing about the questions of the Law, was because they were *Priests*, or as they were men separated for officiating in the *Synagogues*: so the receiving their decisions in *matters judicial*, did acknowledge their office, which was purely *Ecclesiastical and sacred*.

• From all this I may infer, that as long as any *Society* continues to be the Church and people of *G O D*, and hath the service and worship of *G O D* performed in it by men solemnly separated, according to *G O D S* appointment, whatever irregularities be either in their entry to such charges, or of their opinions or practises, these should indeed be cognosced upon, and censured by the *Supream Powers in the Society*; but will never warrant privat persons to separat from the Worship, unless it be so vitiated in any part of it, that without sin they cannot concur in it: in which case, they are indeed to keep themselves clean, and to withdraw, but not to divide until the Worship be so corrupted, that the ends of Publick Worship can no more be answered by such *Assemblies*.

*Poly.* I know it is thought a piece of noble gallan-



gallantry among our new modelled people, to despise the sentiments of the *Ancient Church*; and therefore whatever I could adduce from them, would prevail little for their conviction: otherwise many things could be brought to this purpose from these two great Assertors of the Unity of the Church, against Schismes and divisions, *S. Cyprian*, and *S. Augustin*: the latter especially, who by many large Treatises studied the conviction of the *Donatists*, who maintained their separation from the Church, much upon the same grounds which are by your friends asserted. But I shal dismiss this point with one Sentence of *S. Augustin*, lib. 2. contra *Parmen*. *Quisquis ergo vel quod potest arguendo corrigit, vel quod corrigere non potest, salvo pacis vinculo excludit, vel quod salvo pacis vinculo excludere non potest, equitate improbat, firmitate supportat, hic est pacificus.* And let me freely tell you, that when I consider the temper, the untractableness, the pievish complainings, the railings, the high cantings of the *Donatists*, which are set down by him, and others, I am sometimes made to think I am reading things that are now among ourselves, and not what passed twelve ages ago. And indeed some late practises makes the parallel run more exactly betwixt our modern Zealots and the *Circumcellions*, who were a Sect of the *Donatists*, that was acted by a black and a most



most desperat spirit. For *S. Augustin* tells us, how they fell on these who adhered to the *Unity of the Church*, beating some with cudgels, putting out the eyes of others, and invading the lives of some, particularly of *Maximinus* Bishop of *Hagia*, whom they left several times for dead. And what instances of this nature these few years have produced, all the Nation knows. How many of the Ministers have been invaded in their houses, their houses rifled, their goods carryed away, themselves cruelly beaten and wounded, and often made to swear to abandon their Churches, and that they should not so much as complain of such bad usage to these in Authority: their wives also scaped not the fury of these accursed Zealots, but were beaten and wounded, some of them being scarce recovered out of their labor in child-birth. Believe me, these barbarous outrages have been such, that worse could not have been apprehended from *Heathens*. And if after these, I should recount the railings, scoffings and floutings which the *Conformable Ministers* meet with to their faces, even on streets, and publick high-ways, not to mention the contempt is powred on them more privatly, I would be looked on as a forger of extravagant Stories. But it is well I am talking to men who know them as well as my self. From these things I may well assume that the persecution



cution lyes mainly on the *Conformists* side, who for their obedience to the Laws, ly thus open to the fury of their enemies.

*Isot.* Now, I dare say, you speak against your conscience: For do you think any of the *LORDS* people have accession to so much wickedness, which is abhorred by them all: and this is well enough known to you, though you seem to disguise it. For you have often heard our honest Ministers express their horror at such practises; do not therefore *sin against the generation of the LORDS children* so far, as to charge the guilt of some murdering Rogues, upon these who would be very glad to see Justice done upon such villains.

*Phil.* You say very far, and I am glad to hear you condemning these crimes so directly: and I am as desirous as any living can be, to be furnished with clear evidences of believing as much good as is possible of all mankind. But let me tell you plainly, that the constant concealing of these murderers, whom no search which those in Authority have caused make, could discover, though the Robbers carryed with them often a great deal of furniture, and other goods, which must have been conveyed to some adjacent houses, but could never be found out, after so many repeated facts of that nature, forceth upon the most charitable, a suspicion which I  
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love not to name. Next, let me tell you that these things are very justifiable from the principles your friends go upon: for if we be by oath bound to discover all malignants or evil instruments, that they may be brought to condign punishment; & if our *Conformity* be so notorious a wickedness, and such a plain breach of Covenant, in the punishment whereof the Magistrat is supine and backward, then let every one compare the doctrine of the late Pamphlets, *from page 282. to page 408. chiefly 404. and 405.* and declare whether by the rules laid down in them, any privat persons upon heroical excitations may not execute vengeance on these who are so guilty of gross and notorious backsliding and defections; and what may not be expected of this nature from him *who hesitates to call the invading of the Bishop with a pistol, an accursed act*; and will only condemn it, *as rash, precipitant, and of evil example*: and that not simply neither, but all circumstances being considered, and their exigences *duely ballanced*. Which makes me apprehend his greatest quarrel with that deed was, that it missed the designed effect, and so was done inadvertently, or too publickly, or upon some such particular ground, which may have occasioned its miscarriage. But to deal roundly with you, I shal freely acknowledge, if the doctrine of resistance by privat subjects against these in

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Authority be lawful, I see no ground to condemn such practises: For if we may rise in armes against those in Authority over us, and coërce and punish them; why not much rather against our fellow subjects, and those to whom we owe no obedience, especially when we judge them to have transgressed so signally, and to have injured us to a high degree? which is the case, as most of you state it, with the Ministers that are conformable. And from this, let me take the freedom to tell you, that the whole *mystery of Jesuitism* doth not discover a principle more destructive of the peace and order of mankind, then this doctrine of the lawfulness of private persons executing vengeance on gross offenders, where the transgression is judged signal, the Magistrat is judged remiss, and the actors pretend a heroick excitation. This puts a sword in a mad mans hands, and armes the whole multitude, and is worse then theirs, who will have such deeds warranted by some *supream Ecclesiastical Power*, or at least by a *Confessorius* and *Director* of the *conscience*. Indeed this may justly possess the minds of all that hear it with horror, it being a direct contradiction of the *Moral Law*, and an overturning of all the *Societies* of mankind, and *Laws of Nature*.

*End.* I am more charitable then you are: for though I must acknowledge what you have

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alleged to be the native consequence of what is asserted in that Book, yet I am inclined to believe he intended not these things should be drawn from it, since he in plain terms, *Page 402.* condemns these outrages. I confess, his zeal to defend all *Naphthali* said, and to refute every thing the *Conformist* alleged, hath engaged him further then himself could upon second thoughts allow of. And as for the instances of *Phinehas*, *Elijah*, or other Prophets, the argument from them was so fully obviated in our *First Conference*, that I am confident little weight will be laid upon it. But now, me thinks, it is more then time we considered the importance of that difference about which all this ado is made: for one would expect it must be a very concerning matter, which hath occasioned so much blood and confusion, and continues still to divide us asunder, with so much heat and bitterness. I confess, my discerning is weak, which keeps me from apprehending what importance can be in it to exact so much zeal for it, that it should be called the *Kingdom of CHRIST upon earth*, his interest, cause, and work, which therefore should be earnestly contended for.

*Isot.* The natural man receiveth not the things of GOD, and they are foolishness to him: but Wisdom is justified of all her children. That we plead for,  
is



is *CHRIST'S Kingdom*, which is in opposition both to the proud aspirings of the *Prelats*, and to the violent invasions of the *Civil Powers*: We are therefore on *CHRIST'S* side, asserting that none in earth can institut new Officers in his House, but those he hath appointed: and that he hath appointed none higher then ordinary preaching *Presbyters*, among whom he will have an equality observed: which whosoever contradict, with *Diotrephes*, they love the preeminence, and Lord it over *GOD'S* inheritance.

*Phil.* Though I will not fly so high with my pretensions in big words, yet the issue of our discourse will declare if I have not better grounds to assert *Episcopacy* to have descended from the Apostles, and Apostolical times, into all the ages and corners of the Church who received it: and that there is nothing in Scripture that contradicts such an *Instaution*. But I shal refer the decision of this to all impartial minds.

*Basil.* Truly, when without a particular examen, I consider the whole matter in general, I can see so little to except against *Episcopal Government*, that I cannot avoid the severe thoughts of suspecting the great aversion many have at it, to be occasioned from the *spirit of contradiction* is in many which lusteth to envy, or from their opposition to these in Authority: For I doubt not



but if *Presbytery* had the same countenance from the Laws, it should meet with the same contradiction from these who seem to adhere to no principle so firmly, as to their *resisting the Powers that are ordained of GOD*. But the handling of this, with that fulness and clearness which the noyse made about it requires, will take up more of our time than we can be now Masters of, and may well claim a new *Conference*: Therefore we shal remit any further discourse about it to our next meeting.

*Isot.* It is agreed to: and I shal let you see, that for all the railings of this dayes discourse, my patience is yet strong enough to allow of another interview, though I confess my self weary of so much bad company, whose evil communications are designed to corrupt my good principles.

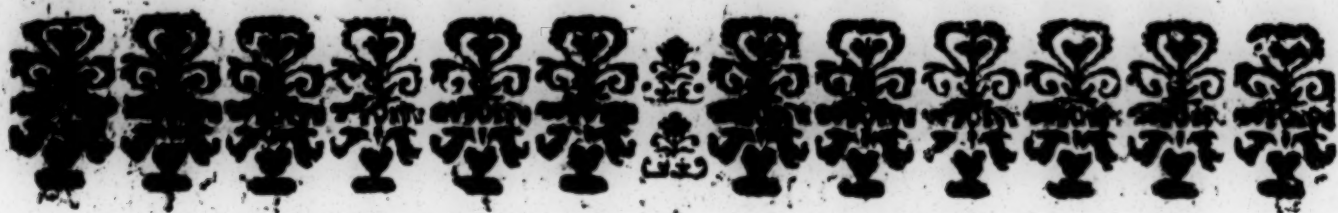
*Phil.* I confess, my weariness is as great as yours, though upon a very different account: For I am surfatted of the contention and heat hath been among us, and long for an end of our *Conferences* upon these heads, which I shal now go through once for all, being encouraged to meet with you again, because this pennance is near an end: out of which if I were once extricated, I am resolved to medle in such contentious Theams no more.

*End.* Having swallowed the Ox, we must not  
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*stick on the rump.* It is true, your Converse is  
extreamly agreeable, yet my stomach begins to  
turn at so much disputing: But, I hope, to mor-  
row shal put an end to it: And therefore I doubt  
not of your return, to finish what you hitherto  
carryed on. And so good night to you.





## THE FOURTH CONFERENCE.

*Isotimus.*



COME now upon our last nights appointment, to pursue this *Conference* to its end, and to examine what these grounds are which endear *Episcopacy* to you so much, especially considering the great disorders and confusions its reestablishment among us hath occasioned. For my part, I cannot see what can reconcile the world to it, much less what should enamour you so of it, as to make you adhere to it, notwithstanding of all the evils spring from it, and of all these black characters of GODS displeasure are upon it: which really appear so signally to me, that it seems a fighting against GOD, to adhere longer to it.

*Phil.* Truly, you and I enter on this subject with an equal surprize, though upon very diffe-



different accounts: For I must tell you freely, that after I have with all the application of mind, and freedom of thoughts imaginable, considered what could engage so many in this *Island*, into so much zeal and rage against the Order, I am not able to satisfy my self about it. That venerable Order having such a native tendency for advancing of true Religion, Peace, Order, and every thing that is excellent: that the aversion and prejudices so many have drunk in against it, seem as unjust, as unconquerable, and look like a part of GODS controversie with us; whereby we are blindly carried into so much unjustifiable zeal against that, which if well managed, might prove an excellent mean for reviving the power of Religion, that hath suffered so great decayes. I shal not deny, but on our part there have been great failings, for which GODS anger hangs over our heads: and that he permits all this opposition we meet with for punishing us for our sins, which have justly provoked GOD to make us *base and contemptible in the sight of the people*. And this I hope shal be an effectual mean of humbling us, and of purging us from our dross: whereby this holy Order being again managed with the ancient Spirit, may appear into the world in its *Primitive lustre*; and be attended with the blessings that then followed it, to the



wonder and conviction of all men, But let me add, the opposition some fiery spirits have given the establishment of *Episcopacy*, deserves much of the blame of its being so little successful in the great work of the Gospel: for alwayes bitter envy and strife produce confusion and every evil work: therefore when you are to view *Episcopacy* in its amiable and lovely colors, let me send you back to that cloud of witnesses, who for the testimony of *I E S U S* endured all manner of torments, were torn by beasts, slain by the sword, burnt in the fire; and in a word, who preached the everlasting Gospel through the world. How many Churches did these Bishops found with their labors in preaching, and water not only with their tears, but their blood? how sublime was their piety? how fervent were their Sermons? how constant were their labors? how strict was their discipline? how zealous were they against heresies? and how watchful against vice? In a word, read but the Histories and Writings of those great Worthies, who were by the confession of all men, *Bishops*, and had more absolute authority over the *Inferior Clergy*, then is pretended to among us; and then tell me, if you have not changed your verdict of that order. Have there been such men in the Christian world, as were *Ignatius*, *Poly-carp*, *Irenaeus*, *Cyprian*, *Thaumaturg*, *Athanasius*,  
*Basil*,



*Basil, Nazianzen, Martin, Ambrose, Chrysostome, Augustin, and a thousand more?* These were, after the Apostles, the greatest glories of the Christian Church: and were *burning and shining lights*. It is in their lives, writings and decrees, that I desire you to view Episcopacy: and if it have any way fallen from that first and fair Original, direct your thoughts and zeal to contrive and carry on its recovery to its former purity and fervor: but take it not at the disadvantage, as it may have suffered any thing from the corruptions of men, in a succession of so many ages; for you know the Sacraments, the Ministry, and all the parts of Religion have been foiled, and stained of their first beauty by their corrupt hands, to whose care they were committed. But he were very much to blame, who would thereupon quarrel these things. I shal therefore intreat, you will consider that Order, either in it self, or as it flourished in the first ages of the Church, and not as prejudices or particular escapes may have represented it to you.

*End.* That you may both understand one another better, let me suggest to you the right stating of that you differ about, that you be not contending about words, or notions of things; which may appear with various shapes, and faces; one whereof may be amiable, and another  
ugly



ugly : give therefore a clear and distinct account of that *Episcopacy* you own and assert.

*Poly.* Since *Philarcheus* hath appealed to the ancient Church, for the true pattern of *Episcopacy*, I shal faithfully represent to you, what the office and power of their Bishops was, and how it took its first rise and growth among them; and then I shal leave it to be discussed, how lawful or allowable it is of it self. The *Jewes* had among them, beside the *Temple-worship*, which was *Typical*, their *Synagogues*, not only over the land, but through all the corners of the world into which they were dispersed; which were called their *Prosenche* among the *Greeks*, and *Romans*. Thither did they meet for the dayly worship of G O D; there did they likewise meet on their Sabbaths, and recited their *Philacteries*, or *Liturgies*, and heard a portion of the Law read; which was divided in so many Sections, that it might be yearly read over: there was also a word of exhortation used, after the Law was read: and there were in these *Synagogues*, Office-Bearers separated for that work, who were to order the Worship, and the reading of the Law, and were to censure sins, by several degrees of *Excommunications*, casting them out of the *Synagogue*: they were likewise to see to the supplying the necessities of the poor. Now if we consider the practise of our Savior



Savior, and his Apostles, we shal find them studying to comply with the forms received among the *Jewes*, as much as was possible, or consistent with the New Dispensation; which might be instanced in many particulars, as in both Sacraments, the forms of Worship, the practise of Excommunication, and these might be branched out into many instances. And indeed since we find the Apostles yeelding so far in compliance with the *Jewes* about the *Mosaical Rites*, which were purely typical, and consequently antiquated by the death of CHRIST, we have a great deal of more reason to apprehend they complied with their formes in things that were not typical, but rather moral, such as was the Order of their Worship: these things only excepted, wherein the Christian Religion required a change to be made: And this the rather, that wherever they went promulgating the Gospel, the first offer of it was made to the *Jewes*; many of whom believed, but were still *zealous of the traditions of their Fathers*. And so it is not like, that they who could not be prevailed upon to part with the *Mosaical Rites*, for all the reasons were offered against them, were so easily content to change their other forms, which were of themselves useful and innocent. Now since we see the Apostles retained, and improved so many of their rites, and  
customs



customs, why they should have innovated the Government of their Synagogues, will not be easily made clear: especially since they retained the names of *Bishop*, *Presbyter*, and *Deacon*, which were in use among the *Jewes*, and since they did bless and separat them by the imposition of hands, which had been also practised among the *Jewes*: and all this will appear with a clearer vilage of reason, if we consider the accounts given in the *Acts*, or rules prescribed in the *Epistles of the Apostles*, about the framing and constituting their Churches. All which speak out nothing of a new constitution, but tell only what rules they gave for regulating things; which from the stile they run in, seems to have been then constituted: and is very far either from *Moses* his language in the *Pentateuch*, or from the forms of the institution of the Sacraments: And except the little we have of the institution of Deacons, nothing like an institution occurs in the *New Testament*; and yet that seems not the institution of an Order, but a particular provision of men for serving the *Hellenists* in an office already known, and received. Now let me here send you to the Masters of the *Jewish* learning, particularly to the eminently learned, and judicious *Doctor Light-foot*, who will inform you, that in every Synagogue there was one peculiarly charged with the Worship



ship, called the *Bishop of the Congregation*, the *Angel of the Church*, or the *Minister of the Synagogue*: and besides him, there were three, who had the Civil Judicatory; who judged also about the receiving Profelytes, the imposition of hands, &c. And there were other three, who gathered, and distributed the almes. Now the Christian Religion taking place, as the Gospel was planted in the Cities, where it was chiefly preached, these forms and orders were retained, both name and thing: for we cannot think that the Apostles, whose chief work was the gaining of souls from *Gentilism* or *Judaism*, were very solicitous about modes of Government; but took things as they found them. Only the Elder and greater Christians they separated for Church Offices, and retained an inspection over them themselves. And abstracting from what was said about the *Synagogues*, it is natural to think, that when the Apostles left them, and died, they did appoint the more eminent to be Over-seers to the rest; which why not every where, as well as was done by *S. Paul* to *Timothy* and *Titus*, is not easily to be proven. But this is yet more rational from what was premised about the *Synagogue* Pattern; only they did not restrict themselves to that number, for the number of the *Presbyters* was indefinit; but the *Deacons* were according



ding to their first original, restricted to the number seven. Thus the first form was, that there was one whose charge it was to over-see, feed, and rule the flock: and where the number of the Christians was small, they met all in one place for Worship, and it was easie for the *Bishop* to overtake the charge. But for the spreading of the Gospel, he had about him a company of the elder, and more eminent Christians, who were designed and ordained for diffusing the Gospel through the Cities, Villages, and places adjacent: and these *Presbyters* were as the *Bishops* children educated, and formed by him, being in all they did, directed by him, and accountable to him, and were as Probationers for the *Bishoprick*: one of them being always chosen to succeed in the seat when vacant through the *Bishops* death. Now all these lived together, as in a little *Colledge*, and were maintained out of the charitable oblations of the people, which were depositated in the *Bishops* hands, and divided in four parts; one falling to the *Bishop*, another to the Clergy, a third to the widows and orphans, and other poor persons, and a fourth to the building of edifices for worship. Thus the Churches were planted, and the Gospel was disseminated through the world. But at first every *Bishop* had but one Parish, yet afterwards when the numbers of the Christians encrea-



increased, that they could not conveniently meet in one place; and when through the violence of the persecutions they durst not assemble in great multitudes, the Bishops divided their charges in lesser Parishes, and gave assignments to the *Presbyters* of particular flocks, which was done first in *Rome*, in the beginning of the second *Century*: and these Churches assigned to *Presbyters*, as they received the Gospel from the Bishop, so they owned a dependance on him as their father, who was also making frequent excursions to them, and visiting the whole bounds of his Precinct. And things continued thus in a *Parochial Government*, till toward the end of the second *Century*, the Bishop being chiefly entrusted with the cure of souls, a share whereof was also committed to the *Presbyters*, who were subject to him, and particularly were to be ordained by him; nor could any ordination be without the Bishop; who in ordaining, was to carry along with him the concurrence of the *Presbyters*, as in every other act of *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*. But I run not out into more particulars, because of an account of all these things which I have drawn with an unbiassed ingenuity, and as much diligence as was possible for me to bring along with me to so laborious a work: and this I shal send you when our *Conference* shal be at an end. But in the end of the second  
Cen-



*Century*, the Churches were framed in another mould from the division of the *Empire*: and the *Bishops* of the Cities did, according to the several divisions of the *Empire*, associat in *Synods* with the chief *Bishop* of that *Division* or *Province*, who was called the *Metropolitan*, from the dignity of the City where he was *Bishop*. And hence sprang *Provincial Synods*, and the *Superiorities*, and *Precedencies* of *Bishopricks*, which were ratified in the Council of *Nice*; as ancient *Customs*, they being at that time above an hundred years old. In the beginning of the third *Century*, as the purity of Church-men begun to abate, so new methods were devised for preparing them well to those sacred functions, and therefore they were appointed to pass through several degrees before they could be *Deacons*, *Presbyters*, or *Bishops*. And the Orders of *Porters*, *Readers*, *Singers*, *Exorcists* (or *Catechists*) *Acolyths* (who were to be the *Bishops* attendants) and *Subdeacons*, were set up; of whom mention is made first by *Cyprian*: and these degrees were so many steps of probationership to the supream Order. But all this was not able to keep out the corruptions were breaking in upon Church Officers, especially after the fourth *Century*, that the *Empire* became Christian: which as it brought much riches and splendor on Church employments, so it let in great swarmes of

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corrupt men on the Christian Assemblies : And then the election to Church Offices , which was formerly in the hands of the people , was taken from them, by reason of the tumults, and disorders were in these elections : which sometimes ended in blood , and occasioned much faction, and schism. And *Ambitus* became now such an universal sin among Church-men , that in that *Century* , *Monasteries* were founded in diverse places by holy Bishops , as by *Basile* , *Augustin* , *Martin* , and others ; who imitated the example of those in *Egypt* , and *Nitria* ; whose design was the purifying of these who were to serve in the Gospel. It is true , these Seminaries did also degenerate , and become nests of superstition and idleness : yet it cannot be denied, but this was an excellent Constitution, for rightly forming the minds of the designers for holy Orders ; that being trained up in a course of devotion, fasting, solitude , abstraction from the world, and poverty , they might be better qualified for the discharge of that holy function. And thus I have given you a general draught and perspective of the first Constitution of Churches , together with some steps of their advances, and declinings : But I despair not to give you an ampler account , and plan of their rules and formes. Mean while , let this suffice.



*Phil.* From what you have told us, I shal propose the notion I have of *Episcopacy*, that the work of a *Bishop*, as it is chiefly to feed the flock, so it is more particularly to form, educat, and try these who are to be admitted to *Church employments*; and to over-see, direct, admonish, and reprove these who are already settled in Church Offices: so that as the chief tryal of those who are to be ordained, is his work, the Ordinations ought to be performed by him; yet not so as to exclud the assistance and concurrence of *Presbyters*, both in the previous tryal, and in the Ordination it self. But on the other hand, no Ordination ought to be without the *Bishop*. And as for Jurisdiction, though the *Bishop* hath authority to over-see, reprove, and admonish the Clergy; yet in all acts of publick Jurisdiction, as he ought not to proceed without their concurrence, so neither ought they without his knowledge and allowance, determine about *Ecclesiastical matters*. As for the notion of the distinct Offices of *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, I confess, it is not so clear to me: and therefore since I look upon the sacramental Actions, as the highest of sacred performauces; I cannot but acknowledge these who are empowered for them, must be of the highest Office in the Church. So I do not alledge a *Bishop* to be a distinct Office from a *Presbyter*; but a different degree



degree in the same Office, to whom for order and unities sake, the chief inspection and care of *Ecclesiastical matters* ought to be referred, and who shal have authority to curb the insolencies of some factious and turbulent spirits. His work should be to feed the flock by the Word and Sacraments, as well as other *Presbyters*; and especially to try and ordain Entrants, and to over-see, direct, and admonish such as bear Office. And I the more willingly incline to believe *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, to be the several degrees of the same Office; since the names of *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, are used for the same thing in Scripture; and are also used promiscuously by the Writers the two first *Centuries*. Now *Isotimus*, when you bring either clear Scripture, or evident reason, for proving this to be unlawful, or unexpedient, you shal shake my kindness to this Constitution, whose venerable Antiquity hath conciliated so much reverence from me to it, that it will be a great attempt to change my value of it.

*Isot.* These are all brave Stories well contrived for triumphing among ignorants. But these pretences from Antiquity have been so baffled by the learned Assertors of *Presbyterial Government*, that I wonder how you can so confidently vouch them, since there is not a vestige of any disparity before the 140. year after



CHRIST. And we know the *Mystery of Iniquity* wrought in the dayes of the Apostles, and that then there was a *Diotrophes who loved the preeminence*, and the darkness, and obscurity of the rise and progress of *Prelacy*, doth the more confirm me, that it was the *Mystery of Iniquity*. The pretence from *Ignatius Epistles*, hath been often overthrown; and there are words in these Epistles which clearly prove them to be the contrivance of some Impostor, they being so inconsistent with the strain of Religion, and truth of the Gospel, not to speak of the Orthodoxy & piety of *Ignatius*, and the simplicity of these times, which demonstrat their interpolation evidently, for all the pains *Doctor Hamond* hath been at to assert their faith: and therefore these can furnish you with no argument. See pag. 145. and 151.

*Poly.* I confess I can hear you tell over the arguments of these Pamphlets with some patience: But truly in this instance, I know not how to treat you, or rather him in whose name you speak, who yet would earnestly perswade the World of the great skill, he and his friends have in these things. Surely they are *the men of wisdom!* And one may as securely pull the hairs out of a Lyons beard, as twil them with the least degree of ignorance. But, pray, tell your *Learned Friend*, that in his next publick  
appea-



appearance, he medle no more with Antiquity before he know it better, and discover not so much ignorance, that one of a moneths standing in that study may laugh at him.

Pray, Sir, are you in earnest, when you tell me that for 140. years after CHRIST, there is no vestige of Prelacy on record? Will you not believe *Ireneus*, who lived at that time, though he wrote some years after, and reckons the succession of the Bishops of *Rome* from the days of the Apostles? Or if the Writings and Records of that time be lost, will you give no credit in a Historical matter to those who followed that time, and drew their accounts from Writings then extant, though now lost, such as *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, but especially *Eusebius*, who gives the succession of the Bishops, in the several great Sees, from the Apostles dayes? Certainly, he who was born but about an hundred years after the time you mark, would have had some knowledge of so great a change. But if there was no vestige of *Prelacy* before the year 140. in which it first appeared, what time will you allow for its spreading through the world? Or was it in an instant received every where? Were all the pretenders so easily enflamed to this *Paroxysm* of ambition? And were all the other *Presbyters* so tame, as to be so easily whedled out of their rights, without one protestation



on the contrary? How came the Eclipse of the Church to a total obscuration in one minute? What charm was there in *Prelacy* at that time, that the World was so enchanted with it; and that so soon after *S. Johns* death, when *Polycarp*, and many more of the Apostolical men did yet survive? And how came it, that all the Churches did so unanimously concur in the defection, and not so much as two witnesses appeared to fight against this Beast? Let me tell you freely, there is not a ravery in *Don Quixots Adventures*, or *Amadis de Gaul*, but is liker to prevail on my belief, then this *Romance*. But for *Ignatius* his Epistles, the hazard of the issue of the debate about them is very unequal: for if these Epistles be his, then he dying so near *S. Johns* dayes, the cause of *Presbytery* will be undone. But though they be not his, the Episcopal Party sustain smal prejudice: For from other traces of Antiquity, it can be made as clear, that *Episcopacy* was in the Church from the days of the Apostles, as any historical thing which is at so great distance from our time. But for your friends exceptions at these Epistles, they betray his great skill, and tell clearly, that he understands not the question, and that he hath never read a page of *Doctor Hamond*, though with his usual arrogance, he flights all he saith: For had he read any part of his differ-



dissertation, he would have made a difference betwixt the old vulgar Edition of these Epistles, whose interpolations that learned Doctor acknowledgeth, and the late Edition of them by the learned *Vossius*, according to the *Medicean Codex*, whose authority he only voucheth. Now had he known this, would he have cited words out of them, which are not of the true Edition asserted by *Doctor Hamond*, but are of the old vulgar and rejected one? Certainly; had he read any thing of that debate, which hath been truly managed with much subtil critical learning on both sides, he could not have stumbled unto such a mistake. But his reading, it is like, riseth not above Pamphlets; and finding these words cited on the same design, before the late Editions of *Ignatius* came out; he, without examining, took them upon trust from second hand. But I shal not run out further upon *Ignatius* Epistles, then to recommend their perusal to you, and then I am confident you will discern such a native, simple, and sincerely pious, and devout strain in them, so unlike the swelled stile, or purposes of interpolated Writings, that they will be their own testimony for convincing you of their genuiness: but the exceptions against them being so fully, and so lately, with an amazing diligence, answered by *Doctor Pearson*, I shal remit you to his labors, if you intend to-



examine this matter accurately.

*Isot.* Your *Conformist* did likewise alledge the 40. but he should have said the 38. *Apostolical Canon*, with a hint, as if 50. of these might have been the Apostles appointments: though the heap of them is so full of novelties, that their Antiquity cannot be pleaded by any who knowes the state of the ancient Church; as appears from the 3. 17. and 25. Canons; and were these Canons received, they would prejudice more then advance the cause you maintain, as will appear from the 4. 33. 36. and 80. Canons, not to mention the 24. 26. 28. 41. 53. 57. & 75. And in a word, these Canons do only allow of a precedency of Order, but not of your Prelatick power & superiority, that claims the sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction: See from page 148.

*Poly.* Truly, Sir, if the former exceptions did prove your Author a second hand writer, who voucheth Antiquity upon the testimony of others, this doth it much more. For I am sure had he but read over those Canons, which might be done in half an hour, he had argued this point at another rate: and had he seen the Edition of *Dionysius Exiguus*, he had not accused the *Conformist* for citing that Canon, as the forty, since it is so in his division, who was their first publisher in the *Latine Church*, though it be the 39. in the *Greek division*. But



I will deal roundly in this matter, and acknowledge that collection to be none of the Apostles nor *Clements*, since all that passed under *Clements* name was accounted spurious, except his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*. Nor was this a production of the first two ages. For the silence of the Writers of those *Centuries* gives clear evidence for their novelty: They not being cited for the decision of things then in controversy, wherein they are express, as in the matter of *Easter*, the *rebaptizing Hereticks*, and divers other particulars. Yet in the fourth and fifth *Century*, reference is after made to some elders rules of the Church, which are to be found nowhere but in this collection. The Apostolical Canons are also sometimes expressly mentioned: and this gives good ground to believe there were from the third *Century* and forward, some rules general received in the Church, and held Apostolical, as being at first introduced by Apostolical men. This was at first learnedly made out by *De Marca Concord. lib. 3. c. 2.* and of late more fully by that most ingenious and accurate searcher into Antiquity *Beveregius* in his Preface to his *Annotations* on these Canons. Yet I am apt to think, they were only preserved by an *oral tradition*: and that no collection of them was agreed on, and published before the fifth *Century*. It is certain, the *Latine Church* in Pope  
*Innocent*



*Innocent's* dayes acknowledged no Canons but those of *Nice*. And many of the Canons in this Collection, we find among Canons of other Councils, particularly in that of *Antioch*; without any reference to a preceeding authority that had enjoyned them: which we can hardly think they had omitted, had they received the collection (I speak of) as Apostolical. And that of the triple immersion in Baptism, looks like a rule, no elder then the *Arrian Controversie*. They began first to appear under the name of the Apostles Canons in the fifth Century, which made *Pope Gelasius* with a Synod of seventy Bishops condemn them as Apocryphal; though I must add, that the authority of that pretended Council and Decree, though generally received, be on many accounts justly questionable: And yet by this we are only to understand, that he rejected that pretended authority of the Apostles prefixed to these Canons. In the beginning of the sixth Century they were published by *Dionysius Exiguus*, who prefixed fifty of them to his translation of the *Greek Canons*; but he confesses they were much doubted by many. At the same time they were published in the *Greek Church* with the addition of thirty-five more Canons, and were acknowledged generally. *Justinian* cites them often in the *Novels*, and in the sixth *Novel* calls them, the Canons



nons of the holy Apostles, kept and interpreted by the Fathers. And the same authority was ascribed to them by the Council in *Trullo*. These things had been pertinently alledged if you had known them, but for your friends nibblings at them, if you will but give yourself the trouble of reading these Canons, you will be ashamed of his weakness, who manageth his advantage so ill. And to instance this but in one particular, had he read these Canons himself, could he have cited the eighty which is among the latter additions, & passed by the sixth, which is full to the same purpose? But for that impudent allegation, as if a bare precedency had been only ascribed to Bishops by these Canons, look but on the 14. the 30. 37. 40. 54. and 73. and then pass your verdict on your friends ingenuity, or his knowledge. By the 14. *No Church-man may pass from one Parish to another without his Bishops sentence, otherwise he is suspended from Ecclesiastical functions: and if he refuse to return, when required by his Bishop; he is to be accounted a Church-man no more.* By the 30. *A Presbyter, who in contempt of his Bishop gathers a Congregation apart, having nothing to condemn is Bishop of, either as being unholy or unjust, he is to be deposed, as one that is ambitious, and tyrannous; and such of the Clergy or Laity as joyn with them, are likewise to be censured.* By the 37. *The Bishop*  
*both*



hath the care of all Church matters, which he must administrat as in the sight of God. By the 39. The Bishop hath power over all the goods of the Church; and the reason given is, that since the precious souls of men are committed to him, it is much more just he have the charge of the goods of the Church. By the 54. If a Clergyman reproach their Bishop, he is to be deposed, for it is written, thou shalt not curse the ruler of thy people. And by the 73. A Bishop, when accused, is only to be judged of by other Bishops. Now from these hints, judge whither there be truth in that assertion, that only a precedency is asserted in these Canons: and if all the power is now pleaded for, be not there held out; not to mention the Canon was cited by the Conformist, that Presbyters or Deacons might finish nothing without the Bishops sentence, since the souls of the people are trusted to him. As for the sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, I am sure none among us do claim it, but willingly allow the Presbyters a concurrence in both these. And as to what your friend sayeth of Cyprian, it is of a piece with the learning and ingenuity that runneth through the rest of his discourse, from page 150. to page 160. where for divers pages he belabors his Reader with brave shoves of learning and high invention, so that no doubt he thinks he hath performed wonders, and fully satisfied every scruple  
con-



concerning the rise and progress of Episcopacy.

*Isot.* I pray you, do not fly too high, and make not too much ado about any small advantages you conceive you have of my friend: but upon the whole matter I am willing to believe there was a precedency pretty early begun in the Church, which I shall not deny was useful and innocent, though a deviation from the first pattern: Neither shall I deny, that holy men were of that Order: but when it is considered what a step even that precedency was to Lordly Prelacy, and how from that the *son of perdition* rose up to his pretence of Supremacy; we are taught how unsafe it is to change any thing in the Church, from the first institution of its blessed Head, who knew best what was fit for it, according to whose will all things in it should be managed.

*Poly.* It hath been often repeated, that nothing was ever so sacred, as to escape that to which all things, when they fall in the hands of mortals, are obnoxious. And may not one that quarrels a standing Ministry, argue on the same grounds, a Ministers authority over the people, gave the rise to the authority Bishops pretend over Ministers, and so the Ministry will be concluded the first step of the beaſts Throne? Or may not the authority your Judicatories



catories pretend to be at the same rate struck out , since from lesser Synods sprung greater ones, from Provincial rose Generals , and from these Oecumenical ones with the pretence of infallibility ? But to come nearer you, that whole frame of *Metropolitans* and *Patriarchs* was taken from the division of the *Roman Empire* ; which made up but one great National Church : and so no wonder the Bishop of the Imperial City of that *Empire*, was the *Metropolitan* of that Church : yet he was not all that neither , since he had no authority over his fellow *Patriarchs*, being only the first in order , which truly were the Bishops of that Church : what they were for the first four ages, it was never judged an absurdity to grant to them still : though the ruine of the *Roman Empire*, and its division into so many Kingdoms , which are constituted in various National Churches , do alter the present frame of *Europe* so entirely, from what was then ; that with very good reason what was then submitted to , on the account of the Unity of the *Empire*, may be now undone by reason of the several Kingdoms, which are National Churches within themselves ; and need not to own so much as the acknowledgment of Primacy to any , but to the *Metropolitan* of their own Kingdom. And it seems the interest of Princes, as well as Churches, to assert this. But for the pretence of the Popes supremacy



macy, *Episcopacy* was so far from being judged a step to it, that the ruine of the *Episcopal* authority over *Presbyters*, and the granting them exemptions from the Jurisdiction of their ordinary, was the greatest advance the *Roman Bishop* ever made in his tyrannical usurpation over Churches. I need not here tell so known a matter, as is that of the *exemption of the Regulars*, who being subject to their own Superiors and Generals, and by them to the Pope, were sent through the World in swarms; and with great shows of piety, devotion, and poverty, carryed away all the esteem and following from the secular Clergy; who were indeed become too secular, and these were the Popes *Agents* and *Emissaries*, who brought the world to receive the *mark of the Beast*, and wonder at her. For before that time, the Popes found more difficulty to carry on their pretensions, both from secular Princes and Bishops: But these Regulars being warranted to preach and administer the Sacraments without the Bishops licence, or being subject and accountable to him; as they brought the Bishops under great contempt, so they were the Popes chief confidents in all their treasonable plots against the Princes of *Europe*. And when at the *Council of Trent*, the Bishops of *Spain* being weary of the insolencies of the Regulars, and of the Papal yolk, designed to get free



free from it. The great mean they proposed, was to get *Episcopacy* declared to be of *divine right*, which would have struck out both the one and the other. But the Papal Party fore-saw this well, and opposed it with all the artifice imaginable: and *Lainez* the Jesuit, did at large discourse against it; and they carryed it so, that it was not permitted to be declared of *divine right*. And by this, judge if it be likely that the Papacy owes its rise to *Episcopacy*, since the declaring it to be of *divine right*, was judged one of the greatest blows the Papal Dominion could have received, as the abusing of the *Episcopal* authority, was the greatest step to its exaltation.

*Isot.* Be in these things what may be, I am sure *from the beginning it was not so*, since CHRIST did so expressly prohibit all dominion and authority among his Disciples, when he said, *But it shal not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister, Luke 22. 26.* Whereby he did not only condemn a tyrannical domination, but simply all authority, like that the *Lords of the Gentils exercised over them.* See page 88.

*Crit.* I confess, the advantages some have drawn from these words of CHRIST, for deciding this question, have many times appeared strange to me, their purpose being so visibly



visibly different from that to which they are applied. But if we examine the occasion that drew these words from CHRIST, it will furnish us with a key for understanding them aright: and that was the frequent contentions were among the Disciples about the precedence in the Kingdom of CHRIST: for they were in the vulgar *Judaical error*, who believed the *Messiah* was to be a temporal Prince, and so understood all the pompous promises of the *New Dispensation* literally, and thought that CHRIST should have restored *Israel* in the literal meaning: therefore they began to contend who should be preferred in his Kingdom: and the wife of *Zebedee* did early bespeak the chief preferments for her sons. Yea, we find them sticking to this mistake even at CHRIST'S Ascension, by the question then moved, concerning *his restoring the Kingdom at that time to Israel*. Now these contentions, as they sprung from an error of their judgements, so also they took their rise from their proud ambition. And for a check to both, our Savior answers them, by telling the difference was to be betwixt his Kingdom, and the Kingdoms of the Nations: these being exercised by Grandeur and temporal Authority, whereas his Kingdom was spiritual, and allowed nothing of that; since Churchmen have not by CHRIST a Lordly or

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Despo-



Despotick dominion over Christians committed to them, but a paternal and brotherly one; by which in commanding, they serve their flock; so that it is both a *Ministry* and an *Authority*. Therefore the words of CHRIST, *it shal not be so among you*, relate nothing to the degrees or ranks of Church-men, but to the nature of their power and jurisdiction over their flock, and not to their degrees among themselves, which appears evidently from the whole contexture of the words. And that he is not speaking of any equality among Church-men in their Church power, appears from the mention is made of the *greatest*, and *the chief*; *He that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve*: which show he was not here designing to strike out the degrees of superiority, when he makes express mentiō of them; but to intimat that the higher the degrees of *Ecclesiastical Offices* did raise them, they were thereby obliged to the more humility, and the greater labor. All which is evidently confirmed by the instance he gives of himself, which shews still he is not meaning of Church power (since he had certainly the highest *Ecclesiastical authority*) but only of Civil dominion; nothing of which he would assume. And if this place be to be applied to Church power, then it will rather prove too much, that there should be no power at all  
among



among Church-men over other Christians: For since the paralel runs betwixt the Disciples, and the Lords of the *Gentils*; it will run thus, that though the Lords of the *Gentils* bear rule over their people, yet you must not over yours; so that this must either be restricted to *Civil Authority*, or else it will quite strike out all *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*. But how this should be brought to prove that there may not be several ranks in Church Offices, I cannot yet imagine. And as it is not thought contrary to this, that a Minister is over your Lay Elders and Deacons, why should it be more contrary to it, that a rank of Bishops be over Ministers? In a word, since we find the Apostles exercising this paternal authority over other Church-men, it will clearly follow they understood not CHRIST, as hereby meaning to discharge the several ranks of Church-men, with different degrees of power. But to tell you plainly what by these words of CHRIST is clearly forbidden, I acknowledge that chiefly the Popes pretence to the *Temporal Dominion* over Christendom, whither directly or indirectly, as the Vicar of CHRIST, is expressly condemned. Next, all Church-men under what notion, or in what Judicatory soever, are condemned, who study upon a pretence of the Churches intrinsick power, to possess themselves of the authority, to determine



about obedience due to Kings or Parliaments, and who bring a tyranny on the Christians; and procure what by arts, what by power, the secular arm to serve at their beck. Whither this was the practise of the late *General Assemblies*, or not, I leave it to all who are so old, as to remember how squares went then; and if the leading men at that time, had not really the secular power ready to lacquay at their commands, so that they ruled in the *spirit of the Lords of the Gentils*, whatever they might have pretended. And the following change of Government did fully prove, that the obedience which was universally given to their commands, was only an appendage of the Civil Power, which was then directed by them: For no sooner was the power  
 X invaded by the *Usurper*, who regarded their Judicatories little, but the obedience payed to their Decrees evanished. Thus, I say, these who build all their pretences to parity on their mistakes of these words, did most signally despise and neglect them in their true and real meaning. Now think not to retort this on any additions of *Secular Power*, which the munificence of Princes may have annexed to the *Episcopal Office*; for that is not at all condemned here: CHRIST speaking only of the power Church-men, as such, derived from him their Head, which only barrs all pretensions to *Civil Power*



Power on the title of their functions; but doth not say that their functions render them incapable of receiving any *Secular Power*, by a secular conveyance from the *Civil Magistrat*. And so far have I considered this great and pompous argument against precedence in the Church; and am mistaken if I have not satisfied you of the slender foundations it is built upon: all which is also applicable to *S. Peter's* words, of not *Lording it over their flocks*.

*Isot.* You are much mistaken, if you think that to be the great foundation of our belief of a parity among Church-men, for I will give you another, (*page 91.*) which is this, that JESUS CHRIST the head of his Church, did institute a settled Ministry in his Church, to feed and over-see the flock, to preach, to reprove, to bind, loose, &c. It is true, he gave the Apostles many singular things beyond their Successors, which were necessary for that time, and work, and were to expire with it: But as to their Ministerial Power which was to continue, he made all equal. The Apostles also acknowledged the Pastors of the Churches, their fellow-laborers, and Brethren. And the feeding and overseeing the flock, are duties so complicated together, that it is evident none can be fitted for the one, without they have also authority for the other. And therefore all who



have a power to preach, must also have a right to govern, since Discipline is referable to preaching, as a mean to its end: preaching being the great end of the Ministry. These therefore who are sent upon that work, must not be limited in the other: neither do we ever find **CHRIST** instituting a superior Order over preaching *Presbyters*, which shows he judged it not necessary: And no more did the Apostles, though they withheld none of the counsel of **GOD** from the flock. Therefore this superior Order usurping the power from the preaching Elders, since it hath neither warrant, nor institution in Scripture, is to be rejected, as an invasion of the rights of the Church. In fine, the great advantage our plea for parity hath, is that it proves it self, till you prove a disparity. For since you acknowledge it to be of *divine right*, that there be Officers in the House of **GOD**; except you prove the institution of several Orders, an equality among them must be concluded. And upon these accounts it is that we cannot acknowledge the lawfulness of *Pre-lacy*.

*Phil.* I am sure, if your friends had now heard you, they would for ever absolve you from designing to betray their cause by a faint Patrociny; since you have in a few words laid out all their forces: but if you call to mind what  
hath



hath been already said, you will find most of what you have now pleaded, to be answered before hand. For I acknowledged *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, to be one and the same Office; and so I plead for no new Office-Bearers in the Church. Next, in our *second Conference*, the power given to Church-men was proved to be double. The first branch of it, is their authority to publish the Gospel, to manage the Worship, and to dispense the Sacraments. And this is all that is of *divine right* in the Ministry, in which *Bishops* and *Presbyters* are equal sharers, both being vested with this power. But beside this, the Church claims a power of Jurisdiction, of making rules for discipline, and of applying and executing the same; all which is indeed 'sutable to the common Laws of *Societies*, and to the general rules of Scripture, but hath no positive warrant from any Scripture precept. And all these Constitutions of Churches into Synods, and the Canons of discipline, taking their rise from the divisions of the world into the several Provinces, and beginning in the end of the second, and beginning of the third *Century*, do clearly shew they can be derived from no divine Original; and so were, as to their particular form, but of humane Constitution: therefore as to the management of this Jurisdiction, it is in the Churches power to cast it in what mould



she will : and if so, then the constant practise of the Church for so many ages should determine us , unless we will pretend to understand the exigencies and conveniencies of it better then they who were nearest the Apostolical time. But we ought to be much more determined by the *Laws of the Land* , which in all such matters have a power to bind our consciences to their obedience, till we prove the matter of them sinful. Now discover where the guilt lyes of fixing one over a Tract of ground , who shal have the chief inspection of the *Ministry* , and the greatest authority in matters of Jurisdiction , so that all within that Precinct be governed by him , with the concurring votes of the other *Presbyters* : if you say , that thereby the Ministers may be restrained of many things , which otherwise the good of the Church requires to be done. I answer , these are either things necessary to be done by divine precept, or not : if the former , then since no power on earth can cancel the authority of the *divine Law* , such restraints are not to be considered. But if the things be not necessary , then the Unity and Peace of the Church is certainly preferable to them. I acknowledge a *Bishop* may be tyrannical , and become a great burden to his *Presbyters* ; but, pray , may not the same be apprehended from Synods ? And remember your friends,  
how



how long it is, since they made the same complaints against the Synods: and the hazard of an ill Bishop is neither so fixed, nor so lasting, as that of a bad Synod. For a Bishop may die, and a good one succeed: but when a Synod is corrupt, they who are the major part, are careful to bring in none, but such as are sure to their way; whereby they propagate their corruption more infallibly, than a Bishop can do. And what if the Lay ruling Elders should bend up the same plea against the Ministers, who do either assume a *Negative* over them directly, or at least do what is equivalent, and carry every thing to the *Presbytery, Synod, or General Assembly*, where they are sure to carry it against the Lay Elders, they being both more in number, and more able with their learning and eloquence to confound the others? But should a Lay Elder plead thus against them, *We are Office-Bearers instituted by CHRIST, for ruling the flock, as well as you, and yet you take our power from us; for whereas in our Church Sessions, which are of CHRIST'S appointment, we are the greater number, being generally twelve to one; you Ministers have got a device, to turn us out of the power: for you allow but one of us to come to your Synods, and Presbyteries, and but one of a whole Presbytery to go to a National Synod; whereby you strike the rest of us out of our power: and thus you assert a preeminence*



nence over us, to carry matters as you please? Now *Isotimus*, when in your principles you answer this, I will undertake on all hazards to satisfy all you can say, even in your own principles. Next, may not one of the Congregational way, talk at the same rate, and say, *CHRIST* hath given his Office-Bearers full power to preach, feed, and oversee the flock; and yet for all that, their power of overseeing is taken from them; and put in the hands of a multitude, who being generally corrupt themselves, and lusting to envy, will suffer none to outstrip them: but are tyrannical over any they see minding the work of the Gospel more than themselves? And must this usurpation be endured and submitted to? And let me ask you freely, what imaginable device will be fallen upon, for securing the  
 x Church from the tyranny of Synods, unless it be either by the Magistrats power, or by selecting some eminent Church-men, who shall have some degrees of power beyond their brethren? In a word, I deny not, but as in *Civil Governments*, there is no form upon which great inconveniencies may not follow; so the same is unavoidable in *Ecclesiastical Government*. But as you will not deny, Monarchy to be the best of Governments, for all the hazards of tyranny from it; so I must crave leave to have the same impressions of *Episcopacy*.

*Crit.* But suffer me to add a little for checking  
 king



king *Isotimus* his too positive asserting of parity from the *New Testament*; for except he find a precept for it, his Negative authority will never conclude it: and can only prove a parity lawful, and that imparity is not necessary. I shal acknowledge that without Scripture warrants, no new Offices may be instituted; but without that, in order to Peace, Unity, Decency, and Edification, several ranks and dignities in the same Office, might well have been introduced: whereby some were to be empowered either by the Churches choice, or the Kings authority, as overseers, or inspectors of the rest: who might be able to restrain them in the exercise of some parts of their functions, which are not immediatly commanded by GOD. And you can never prove it unlawful, that any should oversee, direct, and govern Church-men, without you prove the Apostolical function unlawful: for what is unlawful, and contrary to the rules of the Gospel, can upon no occasion, and at no time become lawful: since then both the Apostles, and the Evangelists exercised authority over *Presbyters*; it cannot be contrary to the Gospel rules, that some should do it. To pretend that this superiority was for that exigent, and to die with that age, is a meer allegation without ground from Scripture: for if by our LORDS words, it  
shal



shal not be so among you, all superiority among  
 Church-men was forbid, how will you clear the  
 Apostles from being the first transgressors of it?  
 And further, if upon that exigent such superio-  
 rity was lawful, then upon a great exigent of  
 the Church, a superiority may be still lawful.  
 Besides, it is asserted, not proved, that such an  
 authority as S. Paul left with *Timothy* and *Titus*,  
 was to die with that age: for where the reason  
 of an appointment continues, it will follow,  
 that the Law should also be coëval with the  
 ground on which it was first enacted: if then  
 there be a necessity that Church-men be kept  
 in order, as well as other Christians; and if the  
 more exalted their Office be, they become the  
 more subject to corruption, and corruptions  
 among them be both more visible, and more  
 dangerous then they are in other persons; the  
 same parity of reason that enjoyns a Jurisdi-  
 ction to be granted to Church-men over the  
 faithful, will likewise determine the fitness of  
 granting some excreffing power to the more  
 venerable and approved of the Clergy over  
 others; neither is this a new Office in the House  
 of GOD, but an eminent rank of the same  
 Office.

/ *Ans.* You study to present *Episcopacy* in as  
 harmless a posture as can be, yet that it is a di-  
 stinct Office, is apparent by the sole claim of  
 Ordi-



*Ordination and Jurisdiction* they pretend to, and by their consecration to it, which shewes they account it a second Order: besides, that they do in all things carry as these who conceit themselves in a Region above the *Presbyters*.

*Phil.* I am not to vindicate neither all the practices, nor all the pretensions of some who have asserted this Order, no more then you will do the opinions or actings of all your party: which when you undertake, then I allow you to charge me with what you will. But it is a different thing to say, that no Ordination, nor greater act of Jurisdiction, should pass without the *Bishops* consent, or concurrence. (Which is all I shall pretend to, and is certainly most necessary for preserving of Order and Peace) from asserting that the sole power for these stands in the *Bishops* person. And though I do hold it schismatical to ordain without a *Bishop*; where he may be had, yet I am not to annul these Ordinations that pass from *Presbyters*, where no *Bishop* can be had: and this layes no claim to a new Office, but only to a higher degree of inspection in the same Office; whereby the exercise of some acts of *Jurisdiction* are restrained to such a method; and this may be done either by the Churches free consent, or by the Kings authority. As for the consecration of *Bishops* by a new Imposition of hands, it doth not prove them



them a distinct Office; being only a solemn benediction and separation of them for the discharge of that inspection committed to them: and so we find *Paul* and *Barnabas* (though before that they preached the Gospel, yet when they were sent on a particular Commission to preach to the Gentiles) were blessed with imposition of hands, *Acts* 13. 3. which was the usual Ceremony of benediction. Therefore you have no reason to quarrel this, unless you apprehend their managing this oversight the worse, that they are blessed in order to it: nor can you quarrel the Office in the *Liturgy*, if you do not think they will manage their power the worse, if they receive a new effusion of the holy Ghost. And thus you see, how little ground there is, for quarrelling *Episcopacy* upon such pretences.

*End.* I am truly glad you have said so much for confirming me in my kindness for that *Government*: for if you evince its lawfulness, I am sure the expediency of that Constitution will not be difficult to be proved, both for the tryal of Entrants, and the oversight of these in Office: for when any thing lyes in the hands of a multitude, we have ground enough to apprehend what the issue of it will prove. And what sory overly things these tryals of Entrants are, all know. How little pains is taken to form their minds



minds into a right sense of that function, to which they are to be initiated at one step, without either previous degree, or mature tryal? And here I must say, the ruine of the Church springs hence, that the passage to sacred Offices lyes so patent, whereby every one leaps into them out of a secular life, having all the train of his vanities, passions, and carnal designs about him: and most part entering thus unpurified, and unprepared, what is to be expected from them, but that they become idle, vain and licentious, or proud, ambitious, popular and covetous? I confess, things among us are not come to any such settlement, as might give a provision against this: But devise me one like a *Bishops authority*, who shal not confer Orders to any, before either himself, or some other select and excellent persons, on whom he may with confidence devolve that trust, be well satisfied not only about the learning and abilities, but about the temper, the piety, the humility, the gravity, and discretion of such as pretend to holy Orders: And that some longer tryal be taken of them by the *probationership* of some previous degree. Indeed the poverty of the Church, which is not able to maintain Seminaries and Colledges of such *Probationers*, renders this design almost impracticable. But stretch your thoughts as far as your invention can send them



them, and see if you can provide such an expedient for the reforming of so visible an abuse, as were the Bishops plenary authority to decide in this matter. For if it ly in the hands of a plurality, the major part of these, as of all mankind, being acted by lower measures, the considerations of kinred, alliance, friendship, or powerful recommendations, will always carry through persons, be what they will, as to their abilities and other qualifications: And a multitude of Church-men is less concerned in the shame can follow an unworthy promotion; which every individual of such a company will be ready to bear off himself, and fasten on the plurality. But if there were one to whom this were peculiarly committed, who had authority to stop it, till he were clearly convinced that the person to be ordained, was one from whose labors good might be expected to the Church, he could act more roundly in the matter: and it may be presupposed that his condition setting him above these low considerations, to which the inferior Clergy are more obnoxious, he would manage it with more caution; as knowing that both before GOD and man, he must bear the blame of any unworthy promotion.

And as for these in Office, can any thing be more rational then that the inspection into their labors, their deportment, their conversation, and their



and their dexterity in Preaching and Catechising, be not done mutually by themselves in a parity, wherein it is to be imagined, that as they degenerate, they will be very gentle to one another? And when any inspection is managed by an equal, it opens a door to faction, envy, and emulation: neither are the private rebukes of an equal, so well received, nor will it be easy for one of a modest temper to admonish his fellow-Presbyter freely. And yet how many things are there, of which Church-men have need to be admonished, in the discharge of all the parts of their function, especially when they set out first, being often equally void of experience and discretion? But what a remedy for all this, may be expected from an excellent Bishop: who shall either, if his health and strength allow it, be making excursions through his Diocese, and himself observe the temper, the labors, and conversation of his Clergy? or at least trust this to such as he hath reason to confide most in, that so he may understand what admonitions, directions, and reproofs are to be given, which might obviate a great many indiscretions, and scandals that flow from Church-men. And the authority of such a person, as it would more recommend the reproofs to these for whom they were meant, so it could prevail to make them effectual, by a following censure if



neglected. If the confusion some keep matters in, have hindered us for coming at a desired settlement, the Office of Episcopacy is not to be blamed, whose native tendency I have laid out before you, not in a fair *idea*, but in what was both the rule and practise of the ancient Church, and wants not latter instances for verifying it. In a word, I must tell you, I am so far from apprehending danger to the Church, from Bishops having too much power, that I shall fear rather its slow recovery, because they have too little: which might be managed with all the meekness and humility imaginable, and indeed ought to be alwayes accompanied with the advice and concurrence of the worthiest persons among the inferior Clergy. But till you secure my fears of the greater part in all Societies becoming corrupt, I shall not say by the *major part* of them, but by the *better part*.

*Isot.* I see you run a high strain, and far different from what was the discourse of this Country a year ago, of an accommodation was intended, wherein large offers seemed to be made: but I now see by your ingenuous freedom, that though for a while you (who were called a great friend to that design) were willing to yeeld up some parts of the Episcopal Grandeur, yet you retain the root of that Lordly ambition still in your heart: and so though for  
some



some particular ends, either to deceive, or divide the LORDS people, you were willing to make an appearance of yeelding; yet it was with a resolution of returning with the first opportunity, to the old practises & designs of the Prelats, of enhansing all Ecclesiastical Power to themselves, and a few of their associats. And this lets me see, what reason all honest people have to bless G O D that these arts and devices took not; *for an Ethiopian cannot change his skin.*

*Phil.* I confels to you freely, I was as little satisfied with these condescensions as any of you; and though they gave up the Rights of the Church to a peevish and perverse party, whom gentleness will never gain: and therefore am no less satisfied then you are, that they did not take: and so much the more, that their refusing to accept of so large offers, gave a new and clear character to the World of their temper: and that it is a faction, and the servile courting of a party which they design, and not a strict adherence to the rules of conscience; otherwise they had been more tractable.

*End.* Let me crave pardon to curb your humor a little, which seems too near a kin to *Iso-timus* his temper, though under a different character. For my part, I had then the same sense of Episcopacy which I have just now owned. But when I considered the ruines of Re-



ligion, which our divisions occasioned among us, and when I read the large offers *S. Augustin* made on the like occasion to the *Donatists*, I judged all possible attempts even with the largest condescensions for an accommodation, a worthy and pious design, well becoming the gravity and moderation of a Bishop to offer, and the nobleness of these in authority to second with their warmest endeavors: for if it was blessed with success, the effect was great, even the settling of a broken and divided corner of the Church: if it took not, as it fully exonerated the Church of the evils of the Schism; so it rendered the enemies of Peace and Unity the more unexcusable. Only I must say this upon my knowledge, that whatever designs men of various sentiments fastened upon that attempt, it was managed with as much ingenuity and sincerity, as mortals could carry along with them in any purpose. I know it is expected and desired that a full account of all the steps of that affair be made publick, which a friend of ours drew up all along, with the progress of it. But at present my concern in one, whom a late Pamphlet; (as full of falsehoods in matters of fact, as of weakness in point of reason) hath misrepresented (*the case of Accommodation, Page 31.*) shall prevail with me to give an account of a particular passed in a Conference, which a Bishop  
and



and two Presbyters had with about thirty of the Nonconformists, at *Pasley*, on the 14. *December*, in the year 1670. When the Bishop had in a long discourse recommended Unity and Peace to them, on the termes were offered; he withal said much to the advantage of Episcopacy as he stated it, from the rules and practises of the ancient Church: offering to turn their Profelyt immediatly, if they should give him either clear Scripture, good reason or warrant from the most Primitive Antiquity against such : Episcopacy. And with other things, he desired to know whither they would have joyned in Communion with the Church, at the time of the Council of *Nice*, (to carry them no higher) or not? for if they refused that, he added he would have less heartiness to desire communion with them, since of these he might say, *Let my soul be with theirs*. But to that, a general answer was made by one, who said, He hoped they were not looked upon, as either so weak, or so wilful, as to determine in so great a matter, but upon good grounds: which were the same, that the asserters of Presbyterian Government had built on, which they judged to be conform both to Scripture and Primitive Antiquity. But for Scripture, neither he nor any of the meeting offered to bring a title: only he alledged some differences betwixt the ancient Presidents, as he



called them, and our Bishops. But this was more fully enlarged by one who is believed to be among the most learned of the Party : whose words with the answer given them, I shal read to you, as I take both from a Journal was drawn of that affair, by one whose exactness and fidelity in it, can be attested by some worthy spectators, who read what he wrote after the Meeting was ended, and judged it not only faithful, but often verbal: And that he was so careful to evite the appearances of partiality, that he seemed rather studious to be more copious in proposing what was said by these who differed from his opinion, whereas he contracted much of what was said by these he favored. The account follows.

*Mr. ----- said, That he offered to make appear, the difference was betwixt the present Episcopacy, and what was in the ancient Church, in five particulars. The first was, that they had no Archbishops in the Primitive Church. It is true, they had Metropolitans; but in a Council of Carthage, it was decreed, that no Bishop should be called Summus Sacerdos, or Princeps Sacerdotum, sed primæ sedis Episcopus. 2. The Bishops in the ancient Church were Parochial, and not only κατὰ πόλιν, but in every Village κατὰ κώμην; for even in Bethany we find there was a Bishop. 3. Two Bishops might be in one Church, such was (not to mention Alexan-*



Alexander and Narcissus at Jerusalem ) Augustin, who with Valerius, was ordained Bishop of Hippo. 4. Bishops were elected by their Presbyters, so Jerome tells us, that in Alexandria the Presbyters choosed one of their number to be Bishop: and finally, the Bishops were countable to and censurable by their Presbyters: for either this must have been, otherwise they could not have been censured at all. For though we meet with some Provincial Synods in Church History, as that of Carthage in Cyprians time, for the rebaptizing of hereticks; and that at Antioch against Samosatenus, yet these instances were rare, and recurred seldom; therefore there must have been a power in Presbyters to have censured their Bishops, otherwise it could not have been done, which is absurd to imagine. And upon all these accounts, he judged the present Episcopacy differed much from the ancient *ἐπισκοπία*.

Upon this discourse, the Bishop being weary of speaking much, looked to one of his Presbyters, whom that Pamphlet in derision, calls, a worthy Doctor: who said, He found the ancient writings were so clear for a disparity among Churchmen, and so full of it, that he was assured none could doubt it, after he had looked but overly upon them: But as to what was alledged, he first resumed the five particulars, and spoke to them in order. To the first, he said, It was true, the term Archbishop, was not used in the first Centuries: but in the Council of



Nice, mention is not only made of Metropolitans; but the Canon saith of them, τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη κατεῖτα, let the ancient customs have their force: which shows the superiority of Metropolitans to have been pretty early begun. And the Canon that was cited, calling him, Primæ Sedis Episcopum, makes him Primat: now we are not to contend about words, when the thing is clear: neither will any Archbishop judge himself injured, if instead of that name, he be called Metropolitan, or Primat. Besides, Archiepiscopus, doth not import Prince of the Bishops; but that he is the chief and first of them. And this prefixing of ἀρχι to ἐπίσκοπος, was not so odious: for Nazianzen calls a Bishop ἀρχιεπὺς, and the Arcopagite ἡγεμὺς.

For the second particular, it is true Bishops were in many places very thick set; for in S. Augustins time it appears from the journals of a Conference he had with the Donatists, that there were about five hundred Bishopricks in a smal tract of ground, but this was not universal: for Theodoret tells he had 800. Paroisses in his Diocese: and Sozomen tells of great Countreys where there were very few Bishops. And to prove this, the Canons of Ancyra make a difference betwixt the Presbyters of the Countrey from those of the City: and over the former there was a Chorepiscopus; which shows that the whole Diocese was not within the City. But this was not much to our purpose, since the more or the less did not vary



vary the kind. And if a Bishop might be over the Ministers of the City, it cannot be unlawful that he be likewise set over more in the Countrey: which can be no more essential to this matter, then it is, whether a Parish be great or small. So that this difference may well make the one unexpedient, but unlawful it cannot be, if the other be lawful.

For the third particular, there was a Canon of the Council of Nice, that there might be but one Bishop in a City. And he was amazed to hear the instance of S. Augustin alledged, who was indeed ordained Coadjutor to Valerius; but himself in his 110. Epist. condemns that, telling that he did it ignorantly, not knowing it to be contrary to the Nicen Rules: And therefore he tells how he designed Eradius to be his successor, but would not ordain him in his own time, because of that Canon. Other instances of more Bishops in one City, might have been more pertinently adduced to this purpose: but they were either Coadjutors, such as Nazianzen the son was to his father; or it was agreed to for settling a Schism, as was done in the Schism betwixt Meletius and Paulinus of Antioch. And so S. Augustin and the African Bishops with him, offered to the Donatists, that would they agree with them these schismatical Bishops should be continued as conjunct Bishops with those already settled in those Sees were they lived. It is true, some will have both Linus and Clemens to have succeeded S. Peter at Rome, and Evodius and Ignatius to have



have succeeded him at Antioch: But for this, none assert that both succeeded to S. Peter; some being for one, and some for another: and so in a historical matter, the testimonies of these who lived nearest that time should decide the question. But the Constitutions of Clemens offer a solution to this, that at first there were in some Cities two Churches, one for those of the Circumcision, and another for those of the Uncircumcision: and after the destruction of Jerusalem, this distinction was swallowed up. This is rational, and not without ground in Scripture: besides, that that Book, though none of Clements, yet is ancient. And from all this it was clear, that there might be but one Bishop in a City.

As for the fourth particular, it is true, the ancient elections of Bishops and Presbyters were partly by Synods, partly by Presbyters, and partly popular. But as none would say it made any essential alteration of the Constitution of a Church, if in stead of these elections, Patrons had now a right of presenting to Churches; so though in stead of these elections the King were Patron of all the Bishopricks, it did not alter the nature of Episcopacy, much less justifie a Schism against it. But beside this, it was known the Capitular elections were still continued.

And for the fifth particular, he desired they might give one instance in all Antiquity, where a Bishop was censured by Presbyters: it being clear that they could finish nothing without the Bishops sentence, *μὴ δὲν*

*ἐπιτε-*



ἐπιτελείτωσαν ἄνευ γνῶμης ἐπισκόπου, was the words of the Canon: And if they could finish nothing without the Bishop, much less could they censure himself. Provincial Synods were begun in the second Century, which appears from many Synods were held about the day of observing Easter. Another expedient they had, when a Bishop was heretical, that the neighboring Bishops used to publish it in their Circular Letters, which went a round, and so they did excommunicat or depose them. But the regular way of procedure against Bishops was in Provincial Synods, which were now offered to be set up. Yet even this exception could be no ground for separating, no more then in their principles Lay Elders had to separat from their Ministers, who were their fixed President, and yet did not judge themselves censurable by these Lay Elders; though as to the power of ruling, they held them to be equal. With this he ended, saying, He had now proposed what occurred of a sudden to his thoughts on these heads; though he believed much more might be adduced; but he supposed there was enough said to clear these particulars. And it seems the person who had engaged him to this, judged so; since neither he, nor any of his brethren, offered a reply. And by this account (of the truth whereof I am willing all there present bear witness) let the company judge of the ingenuity of these Writers. But I shal pursue the discourse of the accommodation no further.

Basil.



*Basil.* I am sure it hath left this conviction on all our consciences, that that Party is obstinately fixed to their own humors, without the least color of reason. But now, I think, enough is said for justifying both the lawfulness and usefulness of Episcopacy, and that there is nothing in it contrary either to the nature or rules of the Gospel, or of right reason. And for any occasional evils may have risen from the restitution of this Government, they are with no justice to be fastened on it. I know, many accuse their revenues and honors, thus *the spirit that is in us lusteth to envy*: and the eyes of many are evil, because the eyes of our pious Progenitors were good. But indeed the ravenous appetits of some *Ostriches* among us, have swallowed down so much of the Churches Patrimony, that what remains of it, can scarce provoke envy. And truly Church-men bestowing their revenues well, for almes-deeds, relieving the widows and orphans, and such modest hospitality and decency, as may preserve them from the disesteem of the vulgar, who measure their value of men much from these externals, there were no ground of quarrelling at them were their riches seven fold encreased. I am far from the thoughts of patronising the *German* Bishops, on whom I look as the disgrace of that Order, who live in all things like other Princes, making wars, and  
leading



leading out armies: nor do they once consider their Diocefes, or what they owe them as Bishops, being wholly immerfed in feccular affairs. But for all this, I cannot fee caufe for blaming Church-men, their being either upon the public Counfels of the Kingdom in Parliaments, or on his Majesties Secret Counfels, and that both becaufe Ecclefiaftical matters are often in agitation, both in the one, and the other, in which none are fo properly to be advifed with as Church-men. Occafion may alfo be frequently given to thofe who fhould be prefupposed to underftand the rules of equity and confcience beft, to lay them before others, who either know them not, or mind them too little. And finally, they are fubjects, as well as others, and by the clearnefs is to be expected in their judgements, and the calmnefs of their minds, together with their abftracted and contemplative manner of life, they may upon occafions be very prudent Counfellors: And why a Prince fhall be deprived of the Counfels of that which fhould be the wifeft and beft part of his Kingdom, no reafon can be given. But for all this, I acknowledge there is great hazard from humane infirmity; left by fuch meddling they be too much intangled in matters extrinfick to them, whereby their thoughts may be drawn out from that inward, ferene, & abftracted temper  
where-



wherein their minds should be preserved ; both for more spiritual contemplation , and for a more close pursuing the work of the Gospel, which ought still to be their chief labor. But I must touch this string no more , lest you say that *the Fox preacheth* , and me thinks our discourse is now near its period.

*Ifor.* A great many things do yet remain which are untouched , and deserve to be better considered : for these crude Dialogues powred out a great deal of stuff , which it is like the writer never examined : And in these, you who are his friends , must either vindicat him , or leave him to the mercy of every severe censurer.

*End.* His temper is well enough known to us , that he is very little sollicitous about the esteem or censures of men : and therefore, if all the particulars in his Book , cannot maintain themselves to the judgements of rational and unpreposessed Readers , he thinks them not worthy of his Patrociny. And for that little trifling way of writing , by tracing every word in a Book , or of making good all a man hath said , it is a task equally mean , unpleasant, and laborious : and looks like one contending for victory more then truth. Were it a worthy thing for us to go and reckon how often *and* comes about in any of that Pamphleters long periods, or how often he writes false Grammar,  
how



how harsh his phrases, and how tedious his periods are? or make other such like remarks; Alace, did we that, there were no end! and yet such like are many of his reflections. But then how beautiful were our discourse, if interwoven with those elegancies of *poor wretch, babbler, impertinent, confident, ignorant, atheist, scoffer*, and many more of that same strain? I know well enough why he used those, his design being to make his gentle and simple Readers stand gravely, and turn up the white, and look pale, and affrighted with all those black imputations he charges on that *poor wretch*. Me thinks I hear the censures of the herd, when they first read over his Book, to this purpose: *Oh, here is a worthy piece, full of deep learning; and believe me, he speaks home: he is a sweet man that wrote it, be who he will, and was marvellously born through in it all. And oh, but it is seasonable! and well timed: for he hath answered the whole Book to a word. And where we thought it strongest, he shows its weakness most. But I wish the poor wretch repentance, yet it is a proud companion, and full of disdain; but I hope he is humbled for once: it were a pity of him, for they say he hath some abilities: but they are all wrong set: and he will, may be, study to heal the beast of the wound, which one of our Champions hath given it; but had he any sparks of grace, I could yet love him for his good ————— sake.*

It



It were a worthy attempt to go and satisfy such a gang of cattle: therefore the cavils on the fifth and sixth Dialogue are so poor, that it were lost time to consider them; and so groundless, that he who from reading over the Dialogues themselves, is not able to withstand all those tricks of Sophistry, would be little bettered by all we could add: and therefore we may well quite the Theam, and that the rather, that we have examined all that is of publick concern in these debates: and for any thing that was started, which lyes out of the way, we will leave the discussing of these to the Conformist himself; since our design in this Conference was to get mutual satisfaction to our consciences, in these things which the Laws enjoyn: and if we have gained this, we are to leave contending about other things, which relate not to us. Only if in these greater points it be found that what the Conformist said in the Dialogues, was grounded on so much clear and strong reason, as we have discovered since our first meeting; it is to be presumed that in other things he was not so rash or irrational as to utter such absurdities or errors, as the late Pamphlets do charge upon him.

*Phil.* Our work was to consider, whether absolute subjection was due to the Civil Authority, and how far its dominion over our obedience did



did reach, and whither the principles and practices of the late times, had such evident characters of GODS acceptance on them, that it was an unpardonable crime to reverse that building, which they prepared with so much noise, and cemented with so much blood; and by consequence whither Episcopacy was *that accursed thing* which provoked GODS jealousy so much against us, that it was unlawful to unite with it, or so far to comply with its adherents as to unite with them in worship? If these things be made clear to us, we need not amuse ourselves, nor intertain one another with further janglings, and therefore may break off our Conference.

*I/ot.* Since you will break off, I shall not struggle about it: for it is a confession of your weakness, that you pass over so many things with this slight silence.

*B/ut.* This is the genuine spirit of the party which you now express to the life; but whenever the Author of the Dialogues undergoes the penance of examining what you desire, it will perhaps appear, you have as little ground for this as for your other boastings. But I am sure no scruple sticks with me about these great heads we have examined, so that upon a narrow survey of these matters, it appears he had more reason for what he asserted, than he then vented:

B b

And



And I have as little doubt of his being able to clear himself about other matters, which are snarled at by these Pamphlets. But one thing I have not forgot, about which I am more solicitous: which was a promise *Polyhistor* made of sending when our Conference were ended, an account of the model and forms of the ancient Government: which I desire with such earnestness, that I wish we were gone, that he might be as good as his word.

*Poly.* I know not if it shal answer your hopes, but your curiosity shal be quickly satisfied, after I have given you some account of my design in it. When I considered the ruines of Religion, and the decayes of Piety through the World, I have often bent my thoughts to seek out the most proper remedies and means for the Churches recovery: and that which seemed the most promising, was to consider the constitution, the rites and forms of the Church in her first and purest ages; and to observe the steps of their declining from the primitive simplicity and purity, which being once fully done, great materials would be thereby congested for many useful thoughts, and overtures in order to a Reformation. And this is a work, which for all the accurat enquiries this age hath produced, is not yet performed to any degree of perfection, or ingenuity: therefore I resolved to pursue  
this



this design as much as my leasure and other avocations could allow of. But as I was doubtful what method to follow in digesting my observations, the Canons vulgarly called Apostolical, offered themselves to my thoughts: I thereupon resolved to follow their tract, and to compile such hints as I could gather on my way for giving a clear view of the state of the Church in the first ages. As for the opinions of the ancient Fathers, these have been so copiously examined by the Writers of Controversies, that scarce any thing can be added to those who went before us; but few have been at such pains for searching into their practises, and rules for Discipline, and Worship, wherein their excellency and strength lay. In this inquiry I have now made good advances, but at present I will only send you my Observations on the two first Canons: and as you shal find this task hath succeeded with me, I will be encouraged to break it off, or to pursue it further. Only on the way, let me tell you, that I am so far from thinking these Canons; Apostolical, that nothing can be more evident, then that they were a collection made in the third *Century* at soonest: for the matter of almost every Canon discovers this when well examined, and therefore that Epistle of *Zephirinus* the Pope, who lived about the year 200. that mentions 60. (or as others cite



it 70.) of the Apostles sayings, is not to be considered: that Epistle with the other *Decretals*, being so manifestly spurious, that it cannot be doubted by any who reads them: and the number 60. agrees with no Edition; for they are either 50. or 85. *Tertullian* is also cited for them, but the words cited as his, are not in his Book *contra Praxeam*, from which they are vouched. Nor can they be called the work of *Clemens Romanus*, though they were vented under his name. For *Athanasius* in his *Synopsis*, reckons the work of *Clemens* Apocryphal. And *Eusebius* tells us that nothing ascribed to *Clement* was held genuine, but his Epistle to the *Corinthians*. But the first Publishers of these who, lived, it is like in the third Century, have called them Apostolical; as containing the earliest rules which the Apostolical men had introduced in the Church. And afterwards others to conciliate more veneration for them, called them the Canons of the Apostles, compiled by *Clement*. And this drew *Pope Gelasius* his censure on them, by which the Book of the Canons of the Apostles is declared Apocryphal: which some who assert their authority and Antiquity, would foolishly evite, by applying that censure only to the 35. added Canons: whereas the censure is simply passed on the Book, and not on any additions to it. And this shall serve for an Introduction to the papers



papers I will send you how soon I get home.

*Phil.* I doubt not but all of us, except *Isotimus*, will be very desirous to understand the particular forms of the Primitive Church: but he is so sure, that they will conclude against him, that I believe he is not very curious of any such discovery.

*Isot.* You are mistaken, for I doubt not, but much will be found among the Ancients for me; but if otherwise, I will lead you a step higher, to let you see that from the beginning it was not so: For Antiquity when against Scripture, proves only the error ancient. And if you quite the Scriptures to us, we will yeeld those musty records to you.

*Eud.* Pray, speak not so confidently, after all your pretences have been so baffled, that we are ashamed of you: for you are like the Spaniard, who retained his supercilious looks and gate, when he was set to beg. But I will not be rude in a place which owns me for its Master, though really your confidence extorts it.

*Isot.* You are a proud company, and so elevated in your own eyes, that you despise all who differ from you, and think you censure them gently, if you call them no worse, then ignorants and fools. Is there any arrogance in the world like this?

*Phil.* Pray, let us not fall out, now that we



are to part: but I confess it is no wonder the smart of all the foils you have got, provoke some passion in you, & so I pity you; for I know none of your party who would have carried so discreetly. Therefore, Adieu, I must be gone, and leave this good company.

*Isot.* You will have the last word of scolding, but I perhaps will find out one that will be too hard for you all, and will call you to account of all you have both argued and boasted.

*Basil.* I will break off next, since the design of your meeting is finished: only, *Polyhistor*, mind your promise.

*Poly.* I go about it, and therefore, *Endaimon*, I beg your pardon to be gone.

*End.* Though retirement and solitude be ever acceptable to me, yet it will not be without some pain that I return to it, when I miss so much good company, as have relieved me these four dayes: but the truth is; on the other hand, I am glad to see an end put to this painful Engagement of which I suppose we are all weary. It remains only that I return you my sincere and hearty thanks for the favor you have done me, which I wish I could do so warmly, as might engage you frequently to oblige me with the like civilities. Adieu, my good friends.



# OBSERVATIONS ON THE FIRST AND SECOND OF THE CANONS,

Commonly ascribed to the holy  
Apostles.

*Wherein an account of the Primitive Constitution and  
Government of Churches, is contained.*

Drawn from ancient and acknowledged Writings.



G L A S G O W,  
By ROBERT SANDERS, Printer to the  
City, and University, 1673.



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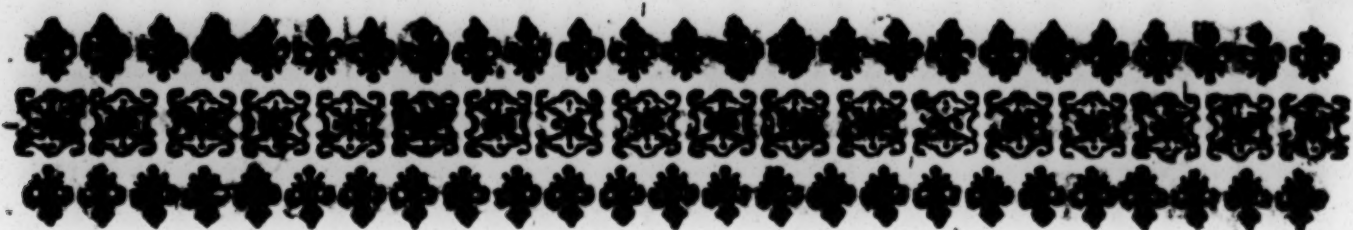
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T H E  
**FIRST CANON.**

Επίσκοπος χειροτονείσθω ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ  
τρίων.

*A Bishop shal be ordained by two or three Bishops.*

---

*A B I S H O P.*



**H**IS word is sometime taken for a Spy, so *Enstathius ad Homeri K.* sometime for a defender; so *Hector* was called Bishop of Troy by *Homer, Iliad ω.* There was among the *Athenians* a publick office so called: and in this sense, it was also used among the *Romans*; so *Cicero ad Atticum, lib. 7. epist. 11.* tells, That *Pompey* would had him to be, *quem tota campania & maritima ora habeant Episcopum, ad quem delectus & summa negotij referatur, ff. de mun. & hon. leg. ult. parag. item Episcopi sunt, qui præsunt pani & cæteris rebus venalibus.*

This



This term is sometime in the Old Testament. And *Clemens Romanus* epist. ad Rom. proves Bishop and Deacon to be no new terms, from *Isai.* 60. 17. Καταστήσω ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τὰς διακόνους αὐτῶν ἐν πίστει. But in our edition, we find : Δώσω τὰς ἀσχονας σε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ τὰς ἐπισκόπους σε ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ (where, on the way, mark how different the present edition of the *Septuagint* is, from that which *Clemens* made use of) ἐπισκοπή, is also *Psal.* 109. 8. Among the Jews, he who was the chief of the Synagogue, was called *Chazan hakeneseth*, the Bishop of the Congregation; and *Sheliach tsibbor*, the Angel of the Church. And the Christian Church being modelled as near the form of the Synagogue as could be, as they retained many of the Rites, so the form of their government was continued, and the names remained the same. But more of this afterward.

*Clemens Romanus* in his *Epistle*, speaks only of Bishops and Deacons. *Polycarp* again in his *Epistle*, speaks only of Presbyters and Deacons; where some objects that it would seem, that both in the Church of *Corinth*, to which *Clement* wrote, and in that of *Philippi*, to which *Polycarp* wrote, there were but two Orders of Church-men, whom the one calls Bishops, the other Presbyters. But if *Polycarp's Epistle* be genuine, then these of *Ignatius*, which he there mentions, must be



be so too, and in them the matter is past controversy.

*Epiphanius lib. 3. har. 75.* tells, that at first there were only Bishops and Deacons, which he saith he had *ἐν καθολαῖς ἰστορίαις*; and that *ubi Episcopi erant jam constituti, scripsit Episcopis & Diaconis. Non enim omnia statim potuerunt Apostoli constituere. Presbyteris enim opus est & Diaconis, per hos enim duos Ecclesiastica compleri possunt; ubi vero, non inventus est quis dignus Episcopatu, permansit locus sine Episcopo. Ubi autem opus fuit, & erant digni Episcopatu, constituti sunt Episcopi; cum autem multitudo non esset, non inventi sunt inter ipsos, qui Presbyteri constituerentur, & contenti erant solo Episcopo in loco constituto. Verum sine Diacono impossibile est esse Episcopum.* So it seems, that from these profound Histories which he had read, it appeared, that in some Villages there were only Presbyters, and no Bishops, because in those places none were found worthy of it. But certainly these places were obliged to depend upon some place where there was a Bishop constitut: For if none were worthy to be Bishops, much less were they worthy to constitut a Church within themselves, and independent. It also appears, that in some places at first, they had no Presbyters: And indeed where the number of Christians was so smal (as no doubt it was in many places at first) a Bishop alone



alone might well have served a whole City: But where the Christians were more numerous, there were need of more hands, to assist the Bishop in his work.

As for that of *Polycarps* naming no Bishop, but only Presbyters and Deacons, perhaps he wrote in the vacancy of the See: so we find many Letters of *Cyprians ad Clerum Romanum*, when there was no Bishop. Besides, it is known that at first the names of Bishop and Presbyter were used promiscuously.

Presbyters were so called, not from their age, as they were men, but from the age of their Christianity: For a Neophyte was not to be ordained, and the Presbyters did joyntly with the Bishop, both rule and feed the flock. But some do stretch this too far, as if always the eldest Presbyter had been chosen Bishop.

The *Commentaries* upon the *Epistles*, commonly called *Ambroses*, but truly *Hilarie*, the Deacons (of which I shal say nothing, it being now agreed among the Criticks, that they are his) upon the 4. of the *Eph.* After he hath at length shown the difference which was betwixt the Churches in the Apostles times, when they were not fully constitut, and the ages that succeeded, he tells how at first all in the Clergie baptizd and preached, and that on any day, or where they had opportunity. But afterwards

Deacons



Deacons were restrained in this, and things were astricted to certain times and places. *Hinc est ergo* (saith he) *unde nunc neque Diaconi in populo predicant, nec Clerici, nec Laici baptizant. --- Ideo, non per omnia conveniunt scripta Apostolica ordinationi, quae nunc in Ecclesiâ est, quia haec inter ipsa primordia sunt scripta. Nam & Timotheum a se creatum Presbyterum, Episcopum nominat, quia primi Presbyteri, Episcopi appellabantur, ut recedente eo, sequens ei succederet. Denique apud Aegyptum Presbyteri consignant, si praesens non sit Episcopus: sed quia ceperant presentes Episcopi indigni inveniri, ad primatus tenendos immutata est ratio, prospiciente Concilio, ut non ordo, sed meritum crearet Episcopum. Multorum Sacerdotum iudicio constitutum, ne indignus temere usurparet, & esset multis scandalo.* And like to this is, what he saith on 1. Tim. 3. from which words, it would appear, that he thought the Elder Presbyter, without any Election or Ordination, succeeded unto the chair of the deceased Bishop. But this is directly contrary even to what Jerome himself saith: neither do we find any such constitution as that he mentions, either in the Acts of the Council of Nice, or of any other.

It is true, *Clemens Romanus* saith, That the Apostles ordained their first fruits, *πρῶτα ἀναγχα*, to be the Bishops and Deacons of them who should afterward believe: but he adds *ἀποστολῶν*



ζόντες τῷ πνεύματι, trying them by the spirit (that of discerning spirits being among their extraordinary gifts) and though they ordained no Neophyte, yet there is no reason to believe, that either they made the eldest Christians, Presbyters, or the eldest Presbyters, Bishops. The choice of *Matthias*, and of the *seven Deacons*, shews that it went not simplie by age. *S. James* the younger was Bishop of *Jerusalem*, & *Timothy* was but young, when ordained. Yet the difference of *Bishop* and *Presbyter* seems not to have been unknown to *Clemens*, as appears from these sayings of his, ὑποτασσόμενοι τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν, καὶ τιμὴν τὴν καὶ δέουσαν ἀπονέμοντες τοῖς παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβυτέροις *propositis vestris subditi & seniores inter vos debita honore prosequentes.* ----- τὰς προηγούμενας ἡμῶν αἰδεσθῶμεν, τὰς πρεσβυτέρους ἡμῶν τιμήσωμεν. *Qui nobis. præsunt reverentur, seniores inter nos honoremur,* τῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖ ἰδίαι λειτουργίαι δεδομέναί εἰσι, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἴδιος ὁ τόπος προστέτακται, καὶ λευίταις ἰδίαι διακονίαι ἐπίκεινται. ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προτάγμασιν δέσσεται. Which by the words that follow, must certainly relate to some Ecclesiastical constitution among themselves, to which he accommodats the terms of the Temple Hierarchie. All which I propose without any peremptory decision in this matter, submitting it to the judgement of the impartial Reader: for I know there



there are exceptions against these words, yet they do clearly imply a difference and subordination betwixt the *Presbyters*, and their *Presidents*: and what he saith of the ranks of the *Hagb Priest, the Priests, the Levites, and the Laicks*, hath certainly a relation to the Orders of the Church.

The next opinion about the origine, of Episcopacie, is that of *Jerome*, and he hath given it very fully, both in his epistle to *Evagrius*, and on the *Epist. to Titus*, cap. He holds, that all things at first were governed in the Church, *communi Presbyterorum consilio*, and that the Bishops were above the Presbyters, *non ex dispositione dominicâ, sed ex Ecclesie consuetudine*; And by divers arguments from Scripture, he proves, that Bishop and Presbyter are one and the same. *Acts 20.* they who *v. 17.* are called *Presbyters*, are *v. 28.* called *Bishops*. *Titus 1. 5.* he test him to ordain *Elders*, and *v. 7.* it is added, *For a Bishop, &c.* Whence he inferrs, that Bishop and Presbyter are one and the same. As also *Phil. 1.* the Apostle writes only to Bishops and Deacons. And *1 Tim. 3.* he gives the rules only to Bishops and Deacons. *S. Peter* also called himself *ἐπὶ πρεσβυτέρων*: And *S. John* designs himself the Elder.

But he adds, after there arose Schisms, and one said, *I am of Paul*, &c. *Toto orbe decretum est*



est, ut unus ceteris super imponeretur ad quem omnis Ecclesia cura pertineret, & Schismatum semina tollerentur ---- ut Schismatum plantaria evollerentur ad unum, omnis sollicitudo est delata. And ad Evagrium, he tells how Alexandria à Marco Evangelistâ usque ad Heraclam & Dionysium, Presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum Episcopum nominabant. ---- Quid enim excepta ordinatione facit Episcopus, quod Presbyter non facit. ---- Et, ut sciamus traditiones Apostolicas sumptas de Veteri Testamento; quod Aaron, & filij ejus, atque Levite, fuerunt in Templo, hoc sibi & Episcopi, & Presbyteri, & Diaconi vendicant in Ecclesia. And from these words we may observe, that he accounted the difference of Bishop and Presbyter, an Apostolical tradition, which came in place of the difference that was betwixt Aaron and his sons: as also, that this began from the time of the Apostles, and of Mark the Evangelist: That it was done to evite Schism, and that it was appointed through the whole world: as also, that the whole care and chief Power was in the hands of the Bishop, of which he saith further, *Dial. adv. Lactiferianos. Ecclesie salus in summi Sacerdotis dignitate pendet, cui si non exors quedam, & ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in Ecclesiâ efficientur Schismata, quot Sacerdotes.* It may seem likewise probable, from him, that Presbyters choosed their Bishop out of their own



own number, and that in *Alexandria* they made him Bishop without any new Ordination. And of this *Entychius Patriarcha Alex.* who was not very long after *Jerome*, speaks more plainly, for he in his *Origines Ecclesie Alexandrine*, published by *Selden*, Pag. 29. 30. tells that there were twelve Presbyters constitut by *S. Mark*, and when the See was vacant, they did choose one of their number to succeed, and to be their Head, and the rest laid their hands upon him, and blest him: yet this cannot hold true, as shal afterwards appear.

But all *Ignatius* his *Epistles*, are full of the subordination of Presbyters to Bishops, not without verie hyperbolical magnifications of the Bishops Office. It is true, in the *vulgar editions* these expressions are much more frequent; but in the *Medicean Codex* (published by *Vossius*, which agrees not only with the old *Latin* one published by *Usher*, but also with the citations of *Theodoret*, & *Athanasius*, & other ancient Writers which they have taken out of them) there is a great deal of the subordination of Presbyters to Bishops. *Ep. ad Tral*: he saith, *Necessarium est, quemadmodum facitis sine Episcopo nihil operari. --- Omnes reveantur Episcopum ut Jesum Christum existentem filium Patris, Presbyteros autem, ut concilium Dei, & conjunctionem Apostolorum.* To the *Ephes.* he bids them be subject τῷ ἐπίσκοπῳ,



καὶ πρεσβυτερίῳ, and concludes that they should obey these ἀπεριτάστῳ διανοίᾳ. In his *epist.* to the *Magnesians*, he saith, *Quidam Episcopum quidem vocant, sine ipso autem omnia operantur*: wherefore he adviseth them, *ut omnia operentur presidente Episcopo in loco Dei, & Presbyteris in loco confessionis Apostolorum*. And there he speaks of the age of *Damas* their Bishop, who was but a young man, which he calls according to the vulgar Edition, τὴν φαινομένην νεότητα, but in the Medicean Codex τὴν φαινομένην νεωτερικὴν τάξιν, from which some will infer, that Episcopacy was then newly invented, but suppose that were the true reading, which some question, who in this prefer the vulgar reading, it is clear from the whole Epistle that he is speaking of the Bishops age, & not of Episcopacy. And from 2. *Tim.* 2. 22. we see νεωτερικὴ is properly youthful, and καινὴ is that which is new. And what though *Ignatius*, who lived so near the Apostles time, did call Episcopacy a new Order? Many other places to the same purpose of the difference among these Offices occur through all his Epistles, neither is there any room for debate: but if these Epistles be his, the difference of Bishop and Presbyter hath begun in the Apostolical times. But that debate would prove too long a digression here; therefore I refer the Reader, if he desire a full discussion of that question to the in-



incomparably learned and exact defence of them, lately published by *Doctor Pearson*, whose harvest is so full, that he hath not so much as left work for a gleaner.

That of the *Angel* in the *Revelation*, is brought by many, and that not without ground, to prove that there was some singular person in these Churches to whom each Epistle was directed, and we have a great deal of reason to believe that *Polycarp* was then Bishop of the Church of *Smyrna*. *Iren. lib. 3. cap. 3.* and *apud Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 13.* tells that *Polycarp* was ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν Σμύρνᾳ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ἀσπασθεὶς. Now *Ireneus* tells how he was *Polycarp* his hearer and disciple, and had conversed with him in his youth, and had often heard him teach. And as it were great uncharitableness to suspect the truth of his narration in a matter of fact, so we cannot think he could have been mistaken in a matter of that importance. But whatever jealousy may fix upon *Ireneus*, there is no shadow of ground, for suspecting either the veracity, or good information of the Church of *Smyrna*, who (giving an account of his Martyrdom in an epistle insert by *Euseb.* in his history, *lib. 4. cap. 13.*) call him Bishop of the Catholick Church of *Smyrna*.

All that can be alledged against this; is, that in their stile Bishop and Presbyter were one and



the same thing. But the contrary of this is clear from *Irenæus*, who speaks always of Bishops as distinct from Presbyters: and though he sometimes call Bishops, Presbyters, yet he never calls Presbyters, Bishops; which is also the stile of these few Writers of that age, who sometimes call *Bishops*, *Presbyters*. *Eusebius* tells from the testimony of the Church of *Lions*, how he was first a Presbyter in *Lions* under *Pas-  
thinus*: after whose Martyrdom he succeeded him in the Chair, and dyed Bishop there. And if we will hear himself, *lib. 3. cap. 3.* when he is reckoning up the tradition of the faith from the Apostles, he deduceth it by all the Bishops who did sit in *Rome* from the Apostolick times: whence two things will follow; one, that he judged there had been still Bishops in that Church. The other, that he looked on the Bishop, as the chief depositary of the faith.

Further, *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 24.* sets down his Epistle to *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, wherein he chides him for excommunicating the *Eastern* Bishops; and there he lays the whole blame upon *Victor*, without sharing it among the Presbyters, and also commends the former Bishops of *Rome* for their greater gentleness; whereby it plainly appears, that he judged that the power of discipline lay chiefly in the Bishops hands. *Policrates* also (*apud Euseb. lib. 5. hist. cap. 23.*)  
vindi-



vindicats the practise of their Church about the day of *Easter*, not only from the example of the *Apostles* among them, but of the seven *Bishops* who preceeded him in his *See*. From which we may not only infer, that there was but one *Bishop* in a *City*, from the days of the *Apostles*; but that his authority was great, since what they did, passed for a precedent to their successors. And indeed the difference of *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, is so expresse in *Ireneus*, that the most learned assertors of parity, confess the change was begun before his time, which was in the end of the second *Century*. Now how this change could have been introduced, when there was neither *Counsel*, nor secular *Prince* to establish it, when *Church-men* were so pure (*Polycarp* an *Apostolical* man, having died but about thirty years before; besides many other *Apostolical* men who had long survived) when the *Church* was in the fire of persecution, and so less dross could be among them; when there was no secular interest to bait them to it: for on the contrary this subjected them to the first fury of the persecution, seems strange. And it is not easie to be imagined, or believed, how this could have been so suddenly received through all the *Churches*, both *Eastern* and *Western*, and that there was none to witness against it; and that neither the sincerity of some *Presbyters*, nor the pride



of others, should have moved them to appear for their priviledges against this usurpation: And how neither Heretick, nor Schismatick, save one, and that about two hundred years after, should have charged the Church with this: on the contrary, all of them having their own Bishops; and how this Government continued in so peaceable possession through the succession of so many ages, till of late, that even fundamentals are brought under debate; if this superiority were either so criminal, as some hold it to be, or had not been introduced at least by some Apostolical men, if not by the Apostles themselves, will not be easily cleared.

In the next Century we have *Tertullian* speaking clearly of the difference of Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, *lib. de bapt. Dandi quidem jus habet summus Sacerdos, qui & Episcopus, dehinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate, propter Ecclesie bonum. Idem de præscript. advers. her. cap. 32. Caterum si quæ (præscriptiones) se audent inferere etati Apostolicæ, ut ita videantur ab Apostolis traditæ. ----- Edant ergo origines Ecclesiarum suarum, evoluant ordinem Episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Episcopus, aliquem ex Apostolis, vel Apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseverarent, habuerit authorem & antecessorem; hoc enim modo Ecclesie Apostolicæ census suos defe-*



deferunt, sicut Smyrneorum Ecclesia habens Polycarpum, à Joanne collocatum refert: sicut Romanorum à Petro Clementem ordinatum edat. Proinde utique & ceteræ exhibent, quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatu constitutos Apostolici seminis traduces habeant; confingant tale aliquid heretici. He also lib. 4. cont. Marcionem, cap. 5. saith, Ordo tamen Episcoporum ad originem recensius, in Joannem stabit authorem. By which we see that he both judged Bishops to be of an Apostolical origine, and that he counted them different from Presbyters. A little after him was Clemens Alex. who 6. Strom. p. 667. speaking of the Constitution of the Christian Churches, saith, there were among them προκοπαὶ ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων, which he thinks was taken from the Angelick glory, and from their œconomy and administration.

We shal also find through all Cyprian his Epistles this disparity so clear, that it cannot be denied, and yet we find him as condescending as any. Epist. 6. writing to his Clergy, he saith: Solus rescribere nihil potui, quando à primordio Episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine consilio vestro, & sine consensu plebis meæ, privata gerere sententia. But even this looks like a yeelding to a diminution of that plenitude of power to which he might have pretended, Epist. 65. writing to Rogatian, who had advised with him concerning a Deacon



that had carryed insolently toward him, he writes: *Pro Episcopatus vigore, & Cathedra auctoritate, haberes potestatem, qua posses de illo statim vindicari.* (and about the end) *Hec sunt enim initia haereticorum, & ortus atque conatus Schismaticorum male cogitantium, ut sibi placeant, ut praeputum superbo tumore contemnant, sic de Ecclesia receditur, sic altare profanum faxis collocatur, sic contra pacem CHRISTI, & ordinationem, atque unitatem DEI rebellatur.* Likewise we find Epist. 31. written to Cyprian, by the Clerus Romanus, the Seat being then vacant, what sense they had of the Bishops power, when they say: *Post excessum nobilissima memoria Fabiani, nondum est Episcopus propter rerum & temporum difficultates constitutus, qui omnia ista moderetur, & eorum qui lapsi sunt possit cum auctoritate & consilio habere rationem.* And if in any case we receive a testimony, it should be from the mouth of those who can only pretend to be injured. My next witness shall be Dionysius of Alexandria, whose fame and authority was inferior to none of the age he lived in. I do not bring his words to prove there were Bishops in the Church in his time, since that is denyed by none: But to prove how full and absolut the authority of the Bishops was then, and that the Presbyters were simply determined by their commands. Great care was used to keep the Christian Assemblies pure; and there-



therefore such as fell in scandalous sins, chiefly these who apostatised in the persecution, were not admitted to the Communion of the faithful, but after a long and heavy penitence: And a question rising, What should be done with those who died before they finished their penitence: he in his Letter to *Fabius* Bishop of *Rome*, telling that signal story of *Serapion*, shews that in his Diocese the Presbyters sent the Eucharist to the sick who desired it, though they died before they had compleated their penitence: and he adds how this was by his authority, ἐντολῆς δὲ ὑπ' ἐμῆ διδομένης, τὰς ἀπαλλασσόμενας τῇ βίῃ, εἰ δὲ οἴντο, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ καὶ πρότερον, ἠκατέσταντες τύχοιεν, ἀφίσταται: ἢ ἐνέλπιδες ἀπαλλάττονται. Where from the stile of a command given by him, which was the rule of his Presbyters, and the rest of that Epistle, it is as clear as any matter of fact can be, that the authority of Bishops over their Presbyters was then full, absolute, and undisputed.

If we will believe *Eusebius*, who certainly hath been a diligent and great collector, as any of all the Ancients, the whole tract, both of his History and Chronology, runs fully in this strain; and he gives us the Catalogues of the Bishops of the Patriarchal Sees, from the dayes of the Apostles to his own time. And though it is not to be denyed that he hath been too credulous in some instances; yet it is hard to think he could



could have been mistaken in such a tract of so many particulars. And we see from the sixth Canon of the Council of Nice, τὰ δευτέρα ἐν κατελείτω. That the power of *Metropolitans* over *Bishops*, was then accounted by that Council an ancient custome; neither was there ever any opposition made to this before *Aërius*, who upon that account is reckoned an Heretick by *Epiph. lib. 3. her. 75.* and also by *Augustin ad Quod vult Deum, her. 53.* *Epiphanius* adds, that he was an *Arrian*, and gives the account of his opinion in this matter, thus: *Aërius* being a *Presbyter* in *Sebastia*, was offended when *Eustathius* was preferred before him to that *Bishoprick*: and though *Eustathius* took all ways to gain him, and committed the *Xenodachium* that was there to his inspection, yet *Aërius* too deeply irritated at the preference, said: *Quid est Episcopus ad Presbyterum; nihil differt hic ab illo, unus enim est honor, unus ordo, & una dignitas. Inponit manus Episcopus, ita etiam Presbyter; lavacrum dat Episcopus, similiter & Presbyter. Dispensationem cultus divini facit Episcopus, facit & Presbyter similiter; sedet Episcopus in throno, sedet etiam Presbyter.* By which he deceived many, and had diverse followers: but it seems they have died with their Author, for we hear no more of them.

*Medina* in the Council of Trent, numbred with *Aërius*, *Jerome*, *Ambrose*, *Augustine*,  
Chry-



*Chrysostom, Theodoret, Primasius, and Sedulius*, as if they had been of the same mind, wherein he certainly spoke rashly, and was either ignorant or indeliberat. We have already considered both *Jerome* and *Ambrose*, or rather *Hilarie* the Deacon, their opinions in this matter.

All that is gathered from *Augustin*, is, ep. ad *Hieronimum*, where he saith: *Quamquam secundum honorem vocabulorum, quæ jam usus obtinuit, Episcopatus Presbyterio major sit, multis tamen in rebus Augustino Hieronymus major est.* Whence some would infer that the difference of these was only in words, and brought in but by custom: But how thin and weak this is, it being but a smooth complement, will appear to all, especially if they set it in the ballance with the great evidence that stands upon the other side.

*Chrysostome hom. 11. on 1. Tim.* when he is giving the reason, why the Apostle passeth from Bishops to Deacons, without giving rules to Presbyters, saith, the reason was, ἔτι ἔργον πολὺ τὸ μέσον, καὶ γὰρ, καὶ αὐτοὶ διδασκαλίαν ἀναδεδεγμένοι, καὶ προστασίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας. And a little after, he taxeth what that little betwixt them was, τῇ γὰρ χειροτοίᾳ μόνῃ αὐτῶν ὑπερβεβήκασι, καὶ τῷ τῶ μόνον, δοκῶσι πλεονεκτεῖν τὰς πρεσβυτέρους. But this is far from saying that they were all one; and that there ought to be no difference betwixt them



them. Chrysost. also in his first homily on the Phil. 1. cap. on the word οὐκ ἐπισκόποις, saith, *Quid hoc rei est? An unius Civitatis plures erunt Episcopi? nulla modo. Verum sic Presbyteros vocavit, tunc enim nomina invicem communicabant, & Diaconus dicebatur Episcopus.* And there he shows that Bishop & Presbyter were taken promiscuously; for which he cites that of *Timothies* being ordained by the Imposition of the hands of the Presbyterie, which he saith is to be understood of Bishops. *Quia Presbyteri Episcopum non ordinassent.* (And a little after) *Etiam Presbyteri olim appellabantur Episcopi, & Diaconi Christi, & Episcopi Christi, unde nunc etiam multi Presbyteri & Diaconi scribuntur Episcopi.* But he adds, that in process of time, each had their proper names appropriated to them.

*OEcumeneus* and *Theophilact*, in this, and all other things, follow *Chrysostome κατὰ τὸ δας*. As also *Primasius*, who on 1 *Tim.* 3. gives the reason, why the Presbyters are not named. *Eos in Episcoporum ordine comprehendit, quia secundus, imo pene unus est gradus.* *Sedulius Scotus* on the 1. of *Titus*, saith verbatim, that which *Jerome* hath on the same place, and so it is to be considered as all one with him on the matter.

But *Theodorets* opinion is a little more perplex, who on 1. *Tim.* tells, that the same persons were called sometimes Presbyters, sometimes Bishops



*Bishops* : but these who are now called *Bishops*, were then called *Apostles*, and that in the progress of time they left the name of *Apostles*, and the name of *Bishops* was appropriated to them who were first called *Apostles*. Thus he. These words it seems dropped from him without consideration, for there is no shadow of ground to believe it was so; otherwise how came it, that the Apostle gave no rules for them, under that name. But these words are sufficiently tossed by *Petavius* and *Wallo Messalinus*. And thus far we have an ingenious account of the various sentiments of the *Fathers*, about the disparity of *Bishops* and *Presbyters*.

The next thing in this *Canon* to be considered is, what is meant by *χειροτονια*. It is unquestionable, that by this is understood Ordination by Imposition of hands, for all the Ancients use *χειροτονια*, & *χειροθεσια* promiscuously: But Critics judge that by the former we are to understand all that pertained to the Ordination, and the whole Office of it, and that the latter is to be restrained to that particular rite of Imposition of hands given in the Ordination. Nor do I remember of any place, where *χειροτονια* stands for the Election of Church-men, except in the 5. *Canon* of *Laodicea*, which discharges it to be in the presence of the hearers: and if we compare that with the 13. *Canon* of the same Coun-



Council, which discharges the popular elections, we shal see the reason why they likewise forbid the elections to be in the peoples hearing, which was for avoiding tumults. *Balsamon* on this *Canon* refutes their mistake, who understood it *περὶ ψήφου*, which was *διὰ τὴν τῶν χειρῶν ἔκτασιν*, who founded their gloss on that *Canon* of *Laodicea*, (which *Zonaras* and *Aristenus* doth) *Quæ enim fit in Ecclesia ordinatio per preces mysticas peragitur, etiamsi fiat coram multis*. And he proves his gloss from the 4. *Canon* of *Nice*, which appoints the elections of the Bishops to be by the whole Bishops of the Province, or by three at least. Therefore this *Canon* cannot be meant of the elections of Bishops, since two suffice by this rule for a *χειροτονία*; and by the recurring of this same word in the next *Canon*, he confirms his assertion, since Presbyters and Deacons were not (according to him) elected by suffrages. Whence we see, how groundless a nycety theirs is, who would distinguish them, as if the former had been the election, the latter the ordination. It is true *χειροτονία* is in the *Greek* Authors almost constantly taken for the election of Magistrats, which was ordinarily done in *Greece* by the extension or elevation of the hand; so *Budeus* upon the word, and *Cicero pro Flacco* speaks of their *psephismata porrigenda manu, profundendoque clamore concitata*. But that distinction is



is not observed in sacred Writings, in which these minut Critical modes of speaking are not attended to, and since, before they were to lay on hands, they were to stretch forth their hands on the head of the person, this word is not improperly used for that action: and therefore, *Acts 14. 23.* χειροτονήσαντες is used of *Paul* and *Barnabas* their ordaining of Elders, where it is clear, it cannot be meant of the election by the people, but of their Ordination of Pastors.

This word in Scripture is also used for an appointment, or election, *Acts 10. 41.* προχειροτονέω is taken for GODS election; and 2. *Cor. 8. 19.* it is applyed to these who were chosen to carrie a message. As for the Ordination of Church-men, it is nothing else but a solemn Ceremony of blessing them, by laying on of hands. We find of old, that all who were called out for any divine service, were solemnly separated for it, so were both Kings, Priests, and Prophets. And the Law of Nature saith, that to all functions for which a great veneration is due, there should be a solemn inauguration. The laying of the hand upon the head, was the rite of Benediction, *Gen. 48. 14.* *Jacob* blessing *Josephs* children doth it with that Ceremony: In like manner, *Deut. 34. 19.* did *Moses* bless *Joshuah*. We see also by the sinners laying on their hands on the head of the Sacrifice, that it was a Ceremony



monie used in the devoting of things to GOD, whence might rise that phrase among the *Latins* *caput devovere*. And upon these accounts, this was appropriated to the ordination of Churchmen, who are to be both blessed, and devoted to GOD.

We find this ceremony also used in the New Testament on many and different occasions; sometimes when they healed diseases, *Mark* 16. 8. *They shal lay their hand on the sick, and they shal recover*. And our LORD usually touched the sick with his hand. *Acts* 28. 8. *S. Paul* layes his hands on *Publius*. Likewise, when they conferred the holy Ghost on any who were baptized, they used this ceremony, so *Acts* 8. 17. and 19. 6. And further, when they appointed any for the Ministry of the Gospel, they separated and blessed them, by the laying on of hands; so *1. Tim.* 4. 15. and 5. 22. and *2. Tim.* 1. 6. Deacons were also ordained by this ceremony, *Acts* 6. 6. As also when they sent any on a particular mission, though already sanctified for the work of the Gospel, they layd hands on them: so *Acts* 13. 3. *Paul* and *Barnabas* were ordained for the Ministry of the *Gentils*. From all which it is clear that they used imposition of hands, as the constant ceremony of benediction, and as a concomitant of it, and not as a ceremony of it self significant and sacramental.

Among



Among the Ancients, imposition of hands was used not only in Confirmation, which is undoubted, and is by many founded on that of *Hebrews* 6. 2. where laying on of hands being joyned with Baptism, and reckoned among foundations, seems to be common to all Christians. But they also used it in the receiving of penitents: 40 19. Canon of *Laodicea*.

As for the form of ordaining Bishops, we see here it was to be done by Bishops, which is agreed to by all, only *Emychius* seems to say, that in *Alexandria* Presbyters ordained the Bishop. But as for the number of the Bishops who were to ordain, this seems to be later, and more suitable to the state of the Churches after they were constituted, then while they were under persecution. The number of three was appointed, *Conc. Arel. 1. Can. 21. Nic. Can. 14. Arel. 2. Can. 3. Carth. 2. Can. 12.* And see more of this *Gratian dist. 84.* This seems to have been founded on *Timothy's* ordination, which is said to have been done by the Presbytery, which *Chrysostome* understands of a company of Bishops. But it is not probable, that in the time of persecution, when Bishops neither durst leave their own flocks, nor meet in any number, this was then observed; and diverse accounts are given of ordinations, where we hear only of one Bishop ordaining. *Gregory Thaumaturg* was

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ordai-



ordained by *Fidimus* Bishop of *Amasia*, who went to the wilderness to seek him. And there are many instances among the lives of the solitaries, of such as were brought to a Bishop, and ordained by him, without any other assisting him. So *Synesius Epist. 67.* tells how *Siderius* was ordained a Bishop, only by *Philo* Bishop of *Cyrene*; and tho he call that a transgression of the *ἀγκύβητα*, and confesseth it was not *ἐνθρόνως*, but *ἐκθρόνως*, since he was neither ordained in *Alexandria*, nor by three Bishops; yet he justifies it from the necessity of the times wherein such freedom of Assemblies was not safe. And *Gregory the Great* allowed *Augustin* to ordain alone in *England*; who upon that did ordain some Bishops alone, as *Beda* relates. *Dionysius the Areopagite cap. 5. de Eccles. hierar.* giving the account of the ordination of Bishops, represents it as done by one person. *Anno 555.* after *Vigilius* Bishop of *Rome* his death, *Pelagius* who got himself made his successor, being suspected of accession to his death, could only get two Bishops, to wit, *Joannes Perusinus*, and *Bonus Feren- tinus*, who with *Andreas* Presbyter of *Ostia*, laid hands on him. And here is a Presbyter laying hands on a Bishop. The Church of *Rome*, at this day, ordinarily dispenseth with this, so that one Bishop and two Abbots do often ordain Bishops.



The *Arcopagite* loc. cit. gives the account of the Bishops ordination, whom he always calls *ισπαρχης*, thus: He who was to be ordained, was brought to another Bishop, and kneeling before the altar, the Gospels were layd on his head, and the Bishops hand, and so he was consecrated with a holy prayer, and then marked with the sign of the cross; and last of all, saluted by the Bishop, and whole holy Order. His theory on this is: Their coming to the altar, shows the subjecting of their whole life to G O D. Laying on of hands, is as a fathers blessing of his child. The sign of the cross signifies, that they are to follow C H R I S T, even to the cross. Their salutation signifies their union one with another: and the Gospel is layd on the Bishops head, because he being the head of the Hierarchy, is to illuminate the rest.

With this agrees the fourth Council of Carthage, where the rules are at length set down for the tryals and qualifications of Bishops: and Canon first, at the end, we have, *Cum in his omnibus, examinatus, fuerit inventus plene instructus, tunc cum consensu Clericorum & laicorum, & conventu totius provinciae Episcoporum, maximeq; Metropolitanani vel autoritate vel presentia, ordinetur Episcopus.* And Canon second: *Episcopus quum ordinatur, duo Episcopi ponant & teneant Evangeliorum codicem super caput & cervicem (aliter verticem) ejus, & uno super eum fundente benedictionem,*  
D d 2 reliqui



*reliqui omnes Episcopi, qui adsunt, manibus suis caput ejus ungunt.* And of this see *Gratian dist. 23. c. 77.* where we find a Bishop was to be five years a *Leitor* or *Exorcist*, fourteen years an *Acoluth* or *Subdeacon*, and five years a *Deacon*, ere he be a *Presbyter*, and then he may hope for the highest degree. But in another Chapter it is said, he must be ten years a *Presbyter*, ere he can be a *Bishop*. And in another Chapter, none could be a *Deacon* under twenty-five years of age. But by the Civil Law, the age both of Bishop and *Presbyter* is the same; to wit, thirty-five. These previous degrees were introduced, and the years of tryal in them were appointed, that all might be prepared and rightly formed before they were admitted to the government of the Church. Among other ceremonies in the ordination of Bishops, in some places they were anointed with the *Chrism*. *Nazianz. Orat. 20.* tells, that his father had so anointed *Basile*: and *Orat. 5.* tells, that himself was so ordained: but it seems that that was a custom peculiar to that Countrey, since we meet not with it so early elsewhere.

As for the elections of Bishops, we have seen from *Jerome* and *Entychius*, how the *Presbyters* did choofe the Bishop. But in *Africk*, the Synod with the Clergy, and the people did it; of which we have a full account from *Cyprian epist.*



68. *De traditione divinâ & Apostolicâ observatione tenendum est, & observandum quod apud nos quoque, & fere per Provincias universas reperitur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem cui prepositus ordinatur, Episcopi ejusdem Provincia proximi quique conveniant, & Episcopus delegatur plebe presente, qua singulorum vitam plepissime revit, & uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexerit.* And a little before, he saith, *Plebs ipsa maxime habet potestatem vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi.* And from that of Numb. 10, where Moses stript Aaron, and clothed Eleazar before all the Congregation, he proves that it was of divine authority, that the Sacerdotal ordinations should not be, nisi sub populi assistentis conscientia, ut plebe presente, vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita predicentur, & sit ordinatio justa & legitima, qua omnium judicio & suffragia erit examinata. And this course, he saith, held in the ordination both of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. And Epist. 33. he excuseth himself, that he had ordained one a Lector without the consent of his people, though he had been a Confessor in the persecution. The Epistle is directed to the Presbyters, Deacons, and the whole people, and begins: *In ordinationibus Clericis solemus vos ante consulere, & mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare.*



All that we meet with concerning this in Scripture, is the choosing of the Deacons by the people, *Acts* 6. for that of *Acts* 14. 23. is clearly misapplied. 1 *Tim.* 3. a Deacō should be first approven, and *Titus* 1. 6. a Bishop must be ἀνειληπτός; and thereby it appears, that certainly some enquiry was to be made into his conversation, which at least must have been a promulgation before hand. So we find *Conc. Chalced. can. 6.* ὁ χειροτονούμενος ἐπικηρύττειτο. And *Lampridius* in the life of *Alexander Severus* tells, that he used such a course before he made any Governor of a Province. *Dicebatque grave esse non fieri in Provincia- rum rectoribus, cum id Christiani & Judae facerent in praeedicandis Sacerdotibus, qui ordinandi sunt.*

But there were frequent disorders in these elections, which occasioned the 13. Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, Περὶ τῆς μὴ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐπιτρέπειν τὰς ἐκλογὰς ποιεῖσθαι τῶν μελλόντων καθίστασθαι εἰς ἱερατεῖαν: and by the Canon goeth before that, the election of Bishops is committed to the Bishops of the Province, which was also established by the Council of *Nice*, fourth and sixth Canon. Likewise *Justinian*, *Nov.* 123. cap. 1. excludes the people from the election of the Bishop, but leaves it to the Clergie, and the *primores Civitatis*, to name a list of three, out of which the *Metropolitan* was to choose one. The Bishops were to be ordained in the presence of the



the people, where every one might propose his exceptions, why he might not be ordained, which were to be examined before they proceeded to the ordination. So *Conc. Antioch. Canon 19.* and *Carthag. Canon 49.* and *Justinian tit. 1. Nov. const. 1. 2. 17.* according to *Photius in Nomocan, tit. 1. cap. 8.* Yet these popular elections were not wholly taken away, and at least the peoples consent was asked: but there were great disorders in these elections. *Nazianz. orat. 14.* at his fathers funeral instanceth them in two cases at *Cesarea*, where his father was present; in which there were factions at the election of the Bishop: In one of them it was that *Basil* was chosen.

*Ammian Marcellin* tells what tumults were at *Rome* in the elections of their Bishops, of whom he saith, *Supra modum humanum ad rapiendam sedem Episcopalem ardebant*: so that at the election of *Damasus* the faction betwixt his electors, and those that were for *Ursinus*, brake out into such a tumult, that there were in *Basilicâ Sicinim*, *ubi ritus Christiani est conventiculum, centum triginta septem peremptorum cadavera reperta*, lib. 27. And he adds. It was no wonder they struggled so about it, because *id adepti futuri sunt ita securi, ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum, procedantque vehiculis insidentes, circumspēcte vestiti, epulas curantes profusas, adeo ut eorum convivia*



*Regales superent manus, qui esse poterant beata revere-  
ra, si nobis magnitudine despecta quam vitijs oppa-  
nant, ad imitationem quorundam provincialium An-  
tistitum viverent, quos tenuitas edendi potandique  
parcissime, vilitas etiam indumentorum & supercilia  
humana spectantia perpetuo Naziani, verisque ejus  
cultoribus, ut patres commendant & verecundos.*

Because of those disorders in elections, it was  
that Nazianz. *orat.* 19. wished, that the ele-  
ctions were only or chiefly in their hands who  
served at their Altar. *Sic enim nunquam Ecclesie  
male esset.* Therefore he desires they should no  
more be committed *ipsi qui opibus ac potentiâ pol-  
lent aut plebis impetui ac temeritati, atque etiam  
plebeiorum vilissimo aut contemptissimo cuique,* as  
had been before. Adding, that the disorders  
which were in such elections, made him loath  
his life, and long to be in a wilderness.

One effect of these confused elections was,  
that some who were not Presbyters, nay not so  
much as Christians, were chosen Bishops: for  
*orat.* 20. on Basil, when he tells how Basil was  
first ordained a Presbyter, he regrets that ma-  
ny Bishops oftentimes leaped into the chair with-  
out any preceeding degree, which was contra-  
ry to Nature and reason, since among Saylor  
none is made at first a Pilot: nor is there any at  
first made a General among Souldiers. *Nunc  
autem periculum est, ne ordo omnium sanctissimus,  
omnium*



~~omnium~~ *maximè sit ridiculus: non enim vinitate ma-*  
*gis, quàm maleficio, & scelere Sacerdotum para-*  
*tor, nec digniorum, sed potentiorum throni sunt.*  
 Adding that none is called a Physician, be-  
 fore he understand diseases, nor a Painter be-  
 fore he can mix colors. *Amisthas contra facile in-*  
*venitur, non elaboratus, sed recens. --- Uno die san-*  
*ctos fingimus, eosque sapientes & eruditos esse iube-*  
*mus, qui nihil didicerunt: nec ad Sacerdotium quic-*  
*quam prius contulerunt quam velle.* And orat. 19.  
 he tells how in *Cesarea* at an election of a Bi-  
 shop, his father and other Bishops being pre-  
 sent, there arose a great sedition about it, which  
 could not be easily composed, partly thro' the  
 peoples fervor about the faith, partly thro'  
 the eminence of the chair, which made the  
 contentions greater. But at length the whole  
 people with one consent made choice of a per-  
 son of great quality, but not yet baptized, to be  
 their Bishop: from which he was very averse,  
 but they took him by force, and by the assistance  
 of some souldiers then in the Citie, haled him  
 to the Church, and desired the Bishops, not  
 without threats, to ordain him: whereupon they  
 overawed by fear and force, first purified him,  
 and then set him upon the throne; but more  
 with their hands then with their heart. *Chry-*  
*sost. also lib. 3. de Sacerdotio, cap. 15. shows the*  
 evil of these popular elections, and that in  
 them



them they looked more to riches and honor, then to true worth.

But where the Synodical elections were set up, the people were not wholly excluded from their interest in the choice, as we see particularly in the Churches of *Milan* and *Hippo*. Neither were these Synodical elections so regular as *Nazianzen* hoped, which appears from two famous instances of *Nectarius* and *Ambrosius*.

*Nectarius* came to the Council of *Constantinople* in the company of *Diodorus* Bishop of *Tarsus*: and then it was, that upon some differences (as you shal see afterwards) *Nazianzen* retired from *Constantinople*. And *Nectarius* thinking to go home to his Countrey, came to his Bishop *Diodorus* to ask his blessing, and receive his commands. But at that time all *Diodorus* thoughts were, how a fit person might be found for *Constantinople*, and looking on *Nectarius*, considering his gravity, his gray hairs, and sweet temper, he thought (it seems by a divine inspiration) what if he were made Bishop. And thereupon pretending another errand, he took him to the Bishop of *Antioch*, and whispering him in the ear, bade him consider how fit a person *Nectarius* might prove for the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*. *Meletius* laughed in his heart at *Diodorus* his simplicity, who should think



think of *Nectarius*, when so many famous men had been named for that See by their Bishops. After that, *Theodosius* the Emperor commanded the Synod to give him in writing a list of such persons as were judged fit for that chair, which being laid upon *Miletius* to draw, he to gratifie *Diodorus*, puts *Nectarius* among them. The Emperor at first reading began to think of *Nectarius*: but at second reading, positively concluded that he must be the Bishop. The Synod was amazed, and began to enquire about him, and found that he was but a *Catechumen*, whereupon they desired the Emperor to change his mind; but he continuing resolute, the Synod yeelded: and after they had baptized him, they ordained him Bishop. And by this we see that the Synod made the list, but the Emperor named the person.

Near of kin to this is the storie of *Ambrose*. After *Auxentius* the Bishop of *Milan* his death, *Valentinian* the Emperor called a Council of Bishops, and appointed them to choose some holy and fit person to be Bishop there, *Cujus auctoritati & nos subjiciamur, cujusque reprehensiones ferre non dubitemus. Etenim ut Imperatores nos simus, & rerum potiamur, homines tamen esse nos, & humanis lapsibus obnoxios fatendum nobis est.* But the Synod referred the election back to him, that he might name the person, yet he refused it, and



and told them, it was their business, adding, *Ego vero, et ex vobis meis magis et ab officio meo alienum iudico*. But as they went to consult about this, the people of *Milan* did all run together to the Church to choose their Bishop, some of them were *Arrians*, and others *Orthodox*, and each party was contending to have the Bishop chosen of their own side. At that time *Ambrose* a Noble *Roman* of the Consular Order, was Prefect there, to whom *Valentinian*, when he sent him to that charge, said, *Vade, age non ut iudex, sed ut episcopus*. He fearing that the concourse of the people might end in a tumult, came among them to prevent that, and with great sweetness exhorted them to calmness and unity; whereupon they much taken with his speech, cryed out with one accord; *Let Ambrose be Bishop*. But he resisted this as much as he could, and did chide them for their indeliberat choice of a secular person, who was a stranger to Ecclesiastical affairs, and not so much as initiated into the faith, for he was not then baptized. Yet the Synod approving of their election, he was first baptized, and then ordained Bishop. But *Paulinus* adds, that after his Baptism, he past in order through all the Ecclesiastical degrees, and on the eight day was ordained Bishop there. Thus went the Synodical elections: but it was a great while before that, even in the elections of the



the Bishops of Rome, the people were wholly barred from their privileges. And of all this see at large *Antonius de Dominis, lib. 3. de Repub. Eccles. cap. 3.*

Metropolitans were chosen by the Patriarchs, and the Patriarchs by the Emperors: but in some cases, the Emperors took the elections simply to themselves; at other times, they reserved only the ratification of them to themselves: and so for a great while, the elections of the Bishops of Rome were to be ratified, either by the Emperors of the East, or by their Exarchs at *Ravenna*. And after that *Charles the Great* assumed the Empire of the West, it was decreed in a Synod at Rome, that the election of the Roman Bishop belonged to him: and accordingly he was in possession of it, though his successors did simply slip from it. Now the elections are in the hands of the Canons, and Prebends, which is an art to make the election go what way the Superior will. But the Chapters choosing the Bishop, was not known to the Ancients, it belonging to the whole Colledge of the Presbyters without distinction. And all who desire the restitution of Church discipline, think, that the creating of Provincial Synods, and giving the power of electing Bishops to them, is both the best method, and most agreeable to all Antiquity.



A See was not to ly vacant over three moneths, nor the ordination of a Bishop delayed, except upon an inexcusable necessity, otherwise the Metropolitan was lyable to censure, *Conc. Chalced. can. 25.* and in the Council of Sardice, *can. 10.* *Osius* proposed, that none should be Bishop till he had passed through all the inferior degrees, and had finished the Ministry of a Lector, Deacon, and Presbyter; and to this all the Bishops there present gave their consent: but by the instances already marked, we see that this order was not universally observed. *Nov. 123.* it is decreed, that a Bishop be at least three moneths among the Clergy, before he be ordained, that he may be instructed in the Ecclesiastical Ministry and service.

Another custom there had been of Bishops ordaining successors for themselves: so *Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 26.* or according to the Greek division, *cap. 26.* tells how *Theotecnus* Bishop of *Cesarea*, ordained *Anatolius* to be his successor, and that for some time they were both Bishops together. In other places they did not ordain, but only design their successors. Yet *Augustin* was ordained Bishop of *Hippo* by his predecessor *Valerius*; but he apologizes for this, *Epist. 110.* and saith, that he did not know that it was contrary to the Council of *Nice*, which decreed that there should be but one Bishop at once in a City.



City. And from that Epistle we see it was ordinary for Bishops to design their successors, which was done to prevent the tumults were usually in elections. And *Augustin* tells of a disorder which had been in a neighbor Town, because the Bishop, though he had designed his successor, yet had not published it. Therefore he to evite that hazard, designed *Eradius* to be his successor, to which all the people assented. Yet lest this might have opened a door for Bishops to have transmitted their Sees to their kindred or friends, it was decreed in the Council of *Antioch*, *Can. 23.* that any such designation of successors made by Bishops, should be declared null, and that the election of the Bishop should be in the hands of the Bishops of that Synod where the See lay.

There might be but one Bishop in a City for unities sake, yet sometime there were Coadjutors: so *Nazianzen* was Coadjutor to his father. And *Augustin* in his second Conference with the *Donatists*, offered that if the *Donatists* overcame, then they should yeeld their Bishopricks to them; but if the *Donatists* were overcome by them, and so should return to the community of the Church, they should admit them to be conjunct Bishops with them. So was the Schism in *Antioch* betwixt the *Meletianists* and the *Paulianists* settled, that both should be Bishops together,



ther, and all should obey him that survived; to this they all agreed, confirming it by oath. Yet *Flavianus*, one of *Meletius*'s disciples, after his death, got himself chosen Bishop, but was in that condemned by all.

It is true, that the *Novatians* in diverse Sees had distinct Bishops, but these were Schismatics. Yet in the beginning of Christianity, it would appear that there were more Bishops in one place: for *Tertullian* and *Epiphanius* assert, that *Clement* was ordained Bishop of Rome by S. Peter. And yet all reckon *Linus* to have succeeded him. So also *Evocharis* is generally reckoned to be the first Bishop of *Amisus*; thus *Isidore*, *Origen* and *Jerome*. Yet *Chrysostom* and *Theodoret* say, that *Ignatius* was ordained there by S. Peter. If there be any authority in *Clement's* Constitutions, they offer a clear account of this, that *Evocharis* was appointed Bishop of the Circumcision, and *Ignatius* Bishop of the Uncircumcision; and that after *Evocharis*'s death, both Churches grew in one. The same also is applyed to the difference about *Linus*, and *Clement* by others, as if *Linus* had been Bishop of the Circumcision, and *Clement* of the Uncircumcision; and that after *Clement*'s death they all grew in one, and submitted to *Clement*. However, it is clear that in every Church there was but one Bishop: and accordingly was decreed, *Conc.*

*Nic.*



Nic. Can. 8. "ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύο ἐπίσκοποι ὦσιν."  
 By which stile we see they guarded against the disorder of two Bishops in a City, as a thing undoubtedly irregular, which hath been accounted so before that time: so that this of one Bishop in a City, is not to be accounted an act of that Council; but a reference to some former act, or at least an universally received practise. Yet the first succession of the Bishops of Rome, tho' always perplexed, is much more so, from the most learned *Vossius* (his Observations in his Letter to *Rivet*, subjoyned to *Doctor Pearsons Vindicia of Ignatius his Epistles*:) who from all the Manuscripts of *Damasus* his *lives of the Popes*, informes us, that *S. Peter* did ordain both *Linus* and *Cletus* Bishops of Rome: and after some enquiry into the matter, he concludes, that at first there were three Bishops in Rome at once, *Linus*, *Cletus*, & *Anencletus*. In the next succession, he places *Cletus*, & *Anencletus* and *Clemens*; but *Anencletus* surviving both the other, sat alone at Rome: after whom there was but one Bishop there. Yet I know not if *Damasus* ought to have such authority, that upon his testimony we are bound to believe a thing so different from the accounts given by elder and more unquestioned Writers.

All *ambitus* was condemned in Bishops; but it seems that in *Nazianzens* time it was too



common: For he in his Apologetick registers how some *αὐτὸν ἀξιῶσι γυνέσθαι προσημασίᾳ τοῖς ἡγέταις* *μεταγινώσκουσι τε βήματος*, *tanquam non virtutis exemplum*, sed victus parandi occasionem & subsidium hunc ordinem esse judicantes: ac non minus referendis rationibus obnoxium, sed imperium ab omni censura immune. And a little after: *Primum fere quam primam comam abjecerimus*, pueritij more balbutire desierimus. Si duo aut tria *πρῶτα* verba didicerimus, eaque non ex lectione, sed ex sola auditione hausta, aut David *παῦτον* opera dederimus, aut pallium scite contraxerimus, aut *ζώνην* stenus philosophari facerimus, pietatis quandam speciem nobis illuminantes, *ὦ* praefecturam! *ὦ* elatum animam! Justinian Const. Nov. 137. cap. 1. complains, that absque examinatione, atque honestatistuta testimonio ordinantur Episcopi, Presbyteri, & Diaconi, &c. And there diverse places out of Nazianzen's Apologetick are cited, to shew that Ordination should be gone about *cum omni diligentia* atque rigore, Cod. de Epis. & Cler. leg. 31. *Tantum ab ambitu debet esse sepositus, ut quoratur cogendus, rogatus recedat, invitatus effugiat, sola sibi suffragetur necessitas excusandi.* *Profecto enim est indignus Sacerdotio, nisi fuerit invitatus, invitus.*

Chrysostom in his third Book de Sacerdotio, cap. 10. among the qualifications of a Bishop, reckons for a chief one *παντοχόθεν αὐτῷ τῆς τε πνεύματος ἐπιστημίας καθαρύνειν δεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν.*

Nam



Nam si ad eum principatum adipiscendum vehemēti animi affectu rapietur, eo adepto impotentiorē sane sua ambitionis flammam incendet: ac ut tandem cap- tus, ut sibi adeptum honorem stabiliat, nulli non pec- cato serviet: seu adulandum, seu servile quidpiam atque indignum sustinendam, seu res magno pecunie sumptu tentanda: nam quod nonnulli cædibus Eccle- sias compleverint, contaminarintq, tum ejus honoris gratia depugnantes, civitates aliquot funditus everte- runt dicere hic prætermitto, ne quibusdam videar ea in medium afferre quæ fide majora sunt. And to pre- occupy the objection from 1. Tim. 1. 3. he adds, 'Εγὼ δὲ ἐ τῆ ἐργε, τῆς δὲ αὐθεντίας, καὶ δυνάστεας ἐπιθυμῶν εἶπον εἶναι δεῖνόν. And among other advantages of one who wants this too forward desire, he reckons this ἐδὲ τὴν καθάρσειν αὐτῆς ἀέδοιξε. And with a great deal of ingenuity, he confesseth how strong that unlawful desire was in himself, which frightened him from entering in holy Orders.

How far Nazianzen was from all ambition, the whole tract of his life doth fully discover. He was no sooner ordained a Presbyter, then he with his friend Basile, at that time likewise or- dained, fled to Pontus, where they lived a great while, purifying their souls in the exercise of prayer and mortification. After which they re- turned home. Nazianzen out of compassion to his father who pressed his return, and Basile



out of zeal to Religion, and the Church then over-run with *Arrians*; *S. Basile* by the means of old *Nazianzen*, was chosen and ordained Bishop of *Cesarea*, and he ordained *Nazianzen* Bishop of *Sasime*: but he, what through his love of retirement, what because *Sasime* being a stage of the waggoners, was full of stirs and disorders, immediatly left that place, in which he was set against his heart. And some say that he never ordained any in it, nor consecrated the Eucharist while he was there: neither could ever his father obtain of him to return to it. And when his father dealt earnestly with him, not without threatning of imprecations, that he would accept the charge of *Nazianze* in his old age, he with great aversion yeelded to his entreaty, declaring he would stay no longer there then his father lived. During which time, he managed that See with a great deal of success and applause: but after his father died, which was in the hundred year of his age, he continued a little longer there, till his mother who survived her husband sometime, died also. And then he retired to a house of holy Virgins in *Seleucia*, that in his absence they might choose another Bishop: but returning thither a little after, he found they had chosen none; yet he continued stiff as an oak, and neither prayers nor tears could prevail with him. Afterward *Constantinople* was



was in great disorder through the heresies of *Apollinaris* & *Macedonius* lately sprung up, beside the *Arrian*, which was there before: & he being inwardly called of GOD to go thither, and prompted by his friend *Basile*, and invited by many Bishops, and honorable Citizens; went and labored among them: not behaving himself as their Bishop, but as a temporary Over-seer. And though all the Churches were then possessed by the Hereticks, none remaining for the Orthodox, save only *Anastasia*; yet through his labors the face of affairs was quickly altered in *Constantinople*. When *Theodosius* came to *Constantinople*, he possessed him of the great Church: and all the people desired that he might be enthroned, the Emperor concurring with them in that: but he declined it: And though the Emperor took great pleasure in him, yet he went seldom to the Palace. Then was the second *General Council* called to *Constantinople*, and he was by the authority of *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch* (of whom we made mention before) confirmed in the Bishoprick of *Constantinople* by the Council. But after this, there arose some contention by *Timotheus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who came later to the Council, and alledged upon the prerogative of his See, that that matter should not have been decided without him. Upon this, hot and



sharp contentions arose among the Bishops, not so much out of any displeasure they had at *Nazianzen*, as out of their mutual jealousies, though he that writes his life, saith, that this was occasioned by *Meletius* his death. But therein he was mistaken; for *Meletius* out-lived not only this action, and gave the list to *Theodosius* of those who were designed to succeed him (*Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 8.*) but he also out-lived the Council, and subscribed its acts, and died a little after that in *Constantinople*. Upon this contention, *Nazianzen* finding many of those who had before established him, beginning to refile, told them how at first he had refused that Government, though the Church there had been by his labors and pains settled, and enlarged; but for that he expected his reward from GOD: yet it seemed strange to him, that after he had been forced to accept of it, out of his love to the flock, and pressed to it with their united suffrages, they should now think of undoing what themselves had done. This he said, not that he desired riches, or the nobleness of that Seat, and to be called Bishop of the Imperial City. But he confessed, the loss of his children could not but affect him; besides, he feared they might seem to proceed out of envy or lenity. However, if they desired it, αὐτῶς τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐξίσταται.

----- *Mibi quidem solitudo & olim chara fuit &*  
*nunc*



*est: & γὰρ οὕτως ἐξῆλθεν τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀποστόλοις.*  
 Whereupon he went out, and retired from the  
 house wherein he dwelt, to one more secret.  
 But many of the people flocked about him, and  
 with tears besought him to have compassion on  
 them: yet he finding the dissention about him  
 growing hotter among the Bishops, went again  
 to the Council, and charged them by the holy  
 Trinity, that they would compose their diffe-  
 rences peaceably, adding: *But if I seem the oc-*  
*casion of any dissention among you, I am not more wor-*  
*thy than the Prophet Joins: throw me in the sea, and*  
*these raging billows shall quickly be calmed; for I*  
*shall choose any thing you please, so if I be innocent, for*  
*drawing you to agreement on my account.* *Θεοὶ ἐξά-*  
*νατε, πάλιν ἀπελάσαδε μὴ ἐν τῇ ἀδύτῳ καὶ τὴν*  
*ἐρησίαν ἀγαπήσατε. ἔρχαδε ἐπὶ τοῦτον.* 10 After  
 which he went to the Emperor, and with great  
 earnestness begged his permission to retire:  
 which having obtained, he called the Clergy  
 and people together, and with many tears took  
 leave of them, charging them to continue sted-  
 fast in the faith. This being done, he retired  
 to *Arrianze*, a village of *Cappadocia*, which be-  
 longed to him by inheritance, and continued in  
 his retirement, giving himself to his Poetry, till  
 he died in an old age.

That which next occurs to be considered is,  
 in what places Bishopricks were founded, and



Bishops settled. We find in all Cities where the Gospel was planted, and Churches constituted, that Bishops were also ordained. Among the Jews, where ever there were an hundred and twenty of them together, there did they erect a Synagogue. Compare with this *Acts* 1. 19. where the number of those that constituted the first Christian Church, is the same. So it is like where ever there was a competent number of Christians together, that a Church was there settled.

Yet in some Villages there were Churches and Bishops; so there was a Bishop in *Bethany*; and *S. Paul* tells of the Church of *Cenchrea*, which was the port of *Corinth*. It is true, some think that the Church of *Corinth* met there. So these of *Philippi* went out of the City by a river side to prayer, *Acts* 16. 13. But we find *Acts* 18. that there was a Synagogue in *Corinth*, and that *S. Paul* stayed in the house of *Justus*, near the Synagogue; and therefore there is no reason to think that the Christians should have had their meeting without the City, since there was no persecution then stirring: and neither in the *Acts*, nor in any of the *Epistles*, is there mention made of their going out to *Cenchrea*. Therefore it is probable that the Church of *Cenchrea* was distinct from *Corinth*: and since they had *Phoebe* for their Deaconess, it is not to be doubted but



but they had both Bishops and Deacons.

From the several Cities the Gospel was dilated and propagated to the places round about. But in some Countreys we find the Bishopricks very thick set. They were pretty throng in *Africk*, for at a Conference which *Augustine* and the Bishops of that Province had with the *Donatists*, there were of Bishops two hundred eighty six present, and one hundred and twenty absent, and sixty Sees were then vacant, which make in all four hundred sixty and six: There were also two hundred and seventy nine of the *Donatists* Bishops. *Saxo. lib. 7. hist. cap. 19.* speaking how differently constituted some Churches were, he tells how in *Scythia*, though there were many Cities, yet there was but one Bishop. But in other Nations there were Bishops even in their villages, as he knew to be among the *Arabians* and *Cyprians*. *Theodore* tells, that there were eight hundred Parishes within his Diocese, *epist. 113.* But it is to be observed, that in those places where the Gospel was latest of planting, the Bishopricks are fewer, and consequently larger. It is reported that in the vast tract of the *Abyssin* Churches, there is one only Bishop at *Abinna*. *Balsamon* on the 57. Canon of *Laodicea* tells, that at that time in some Churches of the East, it was neither safe nor expedient for them to have Bishops: & they were  
sup-



supplied by Visitors; sent them from other Bi-  
 shops; so that they had no Bishops of their  
 own: which was occasioned both by their po-  
 verty; and the smallness of their number; yet  
 they were under the care and charge of other  
 Bishops. Some Churches lay long vacant and  
 without Bishops. In Carthage, when *Huneric*  
 invaded them, they wanted a Bishop twenty-  
 four years: and he offering them one, providing  
 the *Arrians* might have the free exercise of  
 their Religion among them, they answered, that  
 upon these termes *Ecclesia non delectatur Episco-  
 pum habere*; so *Victor lib. 2. pers. 11. and*. When  
*Melitus* was driven out of *Antioch*; for ten  
 years together *Diodorus* and *Flavian* two Pres-  
 byters ruled that Church; *Theodor. lib. 4. hist. cap. 23*.  
 Some places are alledged to have had  
 the Gospel long before there were Bishops at  
 among them; and particularly *Scotland*, for *Ma-  
 jor lib. 2. cap. 2. faith; per Sacerdotes & Mona-  
 chos sine Episcopis Scoti in fide eruditæ erant*. The  
 time of our conversion to the faith is reckoned  
 to have been anno 263. And *Palladius* reckoned  
 the first Bishop came not for an hundred and se-  
 venty years after that in the year 430. For down  
 in his *Chronicle*; *lib. 3. cap. 8. faith, Ante Palla-  
 dij adventum habebant Scoti fidei Doctores, & Sacra-  
 mentorum administratores, Presbyteros solum, vel  
 Monachos ritum sequentes Ecclesia primitiva*,  
 These



These were called *Culdei*, though in some bulls they be *Celli Dei*. *Boëthius* thinks it is *Culdei*, *quasi cultores Dei*: but others judge that it is from the *Cells* wherein they lived, which were held in great esteem, and after their death were turned into Churches: and from thence they think the name *Kil* is to this day so much used, as *Kilpatrick*, *Kilmarnock*, *Kilbride*, &c. Of these *Boëthius* saith, That by common suffrage, they made choice of one of their number to be chief over them, who was called *Episcopus Scotorum*: so *lib. 6. fol. 92*. This is contradicted by *Buchanan lib. 5*: who saith, That before *Palladius* his coming, *Ecclesie absque Episcopis per Monachos regebantur, minori quidem cum fastu, & externa pompâ, sed majore simplicitate & sanctumonia*. But all our old manuscripts being gone, it will not be easie to come to a decision about this matter. The *Gothick Churches* are said to have been planted and constituted before *Ulphilas* their first Bishop came unto them for seventy years together.

In the beginning the Bishops whole charge was called *παροικία*, and by the strain of *Ignatius* his Epistles, especially that to *Smyrna*, it would appear, that there was but one Church, at least but one place, where there was one Altar and Communion in each of these Parishes: for he saith, There was one Bishop, one Church, and one



one Altar. And Cyprian phraseth the erecting of a Schism, by the erecting of an Altar against an Altar: which seems to import, that there was but one Altar in the Bishops Parish. While the number of the Christians was but small, they might well have all met together in one place; but as they increased, and the persecutions grew upon them, they must have had several meeting places, and consequently several persons to preside and officiate in these meetings. But Damascus and Platina reckon, that Evaristus who was Bishop of Rome about the 106. year, was the first, *qui titulos in urbe Româ Presbyteris divisit*: so that before his time, the Presbyters have all officiated here or there indefinitely according to the Bishops appointment. And Evaristus seems to have given them assignments to particular places. As for the meaning of the word *Tituli*, it is to be considered that the Christians met about the places where the Martyrs were buried, and so their meeting places were called *Memoria Martyrum*. Now upon burials some title or inscription being usually made, it followed that the place of the burial or gravestone was called *Titulus* among the Latins: so Gen. 35. 20. *Jacob* erecting a pillar upon *Rachels* grave, is rendered by the vulgar Latine, *erexit titulum super sepulchrum*: and Gen. 28. 18. of *Jacobs* stone at *Beihel*, it is said, *erexit in titulum*, and 2. Sam. 18.



18. *Absalom* his pillar is called *Troilus*: Hence it is that *Evaristus* his dividing of the titles is to be understood of his giving particular assignments of several Churches to Presbyters.

The next thing to be examined is, what were the actions appropriated to Bishops. If we believe *Jerome*, the Bishop did nothing which Presbyters might not do, except Ordination: By which we see, that he judged Ordination could not be done without the Bishop. *Atthanasius* in his second *Apologie* inserts among other papers, an Epistle of the Synod of *Alexandria*, mentioning that *Ischyrae* his ordination by *Coluthus* being questioned and examined, and it being found that *Coluthus* had never been ordained a Bishop, but that he had falslie pretended to that title and character, all the ordinations made by him were annulled: and *Ischyrae* with such others who were so ordained, were declared Laicks. Which is an undeniable instance, that at that time, it was the general sense of the Church, that none but a Bishop might ordain. Neither in any Author do we meet with an instance of any that were ordained by Presbyters, save one, that *Cassian*, who was about the year, collat. 4. cap. 1. gives of one *Paphnutius* a Presbyter in the desert of *Scythia*, who delighting in the vertues of one *Daniel*, ut quem rite meritis & gratia sibi parem noverat, coequare sibi etiam



*quani Sacerdotij ordine festinaret. . . . . Eum Presby-  
terij honori provecit.* But what a few devout so-  
litaries might do in a desert and undiscerned  
corner, will be no precedent for a constituted  
Church: else we may allow of Baptism with  
sand, for that was once done in a desert.

But Socrates had another opinion of this, who  
lib. 1. cap. 27. tells, that Ischyas did a thing  
*πολλῶν θανάτων ἀξιόν, ἐδὲ πάντοτε γὰρ ἱεροσύνης το-  
χὸν τὸ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ ὄνομα ἑαυτῷ περιθέμενος.* And  
in the third Council of Toledo, set down by Gra-  
tian, dist. 23. cap. 14. this Canon was made.  
*Quorundam Clericorum dum unus ad Presbyterium  
duo ad Levitarum ministerium sacrarentur, Episcopus  
oculorum dolore detentus, fertur manum suam super  
eos tantum imposuisse, & Presbyter quidam illis con-  
tra Ecclesiasticum ordinem benedictionem dedisse, sed  
quia jam ille examini divino relictus, humano iudicio  
accusari non potest, ij qui supersunt gradum Sacer-  
dotij vel Levitici ordinis quem perverse adopti sunt,  
amittant.* By which we see how far they were  
from allowing of any ordination, wherein a Bi-  
shop had not intervened.

It is further clear, that the Bishop was loo-  
ked upon as the Pastor of the flock, who was  
*ἐπιτρομέος τὸν λαὸν τῆ κυρίας,* and that Presby-  
ters or Deacons could finish nothing, *ἀνευ γυν-  
αίκε ἐπισκόπου,* and that he was to give an account  
of the souls of the people: and indeed in these  
days



dayes: a Bishoprick was *onus* more then *honor*.  
The common treasury of the Church was also  
committed to his care, so *infra* Can. 4. And as  
the offerings of the faithful were layd down at  
the Apostles feet, *Acts* 4. 34. so were the *collecta*  
and the other goods of the Church layd in their  
hands. For all the goods of the Church and  
*collecta*, were at first depositated in the Bishops  
hand, and distributed by him, though after-  
wards there was an *Oeconomus* appointed for  
that work.

*Ignatius Epist. ad Magnes.* tells, that they  
were to do nothing without their Bishop. And  
*ad Smyrn.* *μηδὲ τις χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου τὴν πρεσβυτέραν τῆς  
ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.* And 5. Canon of *Laor-  
dicea*, they might do nothing, *ἀνευ ὑψίστου ἐπισ-  
κόπου.* *Idem* Can. 19. *Arel. I.*

As for Baptism, *Tertull. de bapt. faith*, *Quidam  
quidem jus habet summus Sacerdos, qui & Episcopus  
pres, debinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, non quidem sine  
Episcopi auctoritate, propter Ecclesie bonum, quo  
salvo salva pax est, alioquin laicis etiam jus est.* *Fer-  
milian ad Cyprianum*, which is reckoned the 75.  
among *Cyprian* his *Epistles*, faith, *Majores namque  
(and by what is a little after, where he calls  
these Bishops, it is clear he means not of Pres-  
byters) in Ecclesia presidebant, & baptizandi, &  
manum imponendi, & ordinandi, potestatem posside-  
bant.* *Pacian. serm. de Bapt. Lavacro peccata  
pur-*



*purgantur, Chrismate spiritus super funditur, utraque  
viro ista manu & ore Antistitis impetramus.* And  
even Jerome himself contra Luciferianos, saith,  
*Sine Chrismate & Episcopi jussione, neque Presby-  
ter, neque Diaconus jus habent baptizandi.* By all  
which we see, that Baptism was chiefly the Bi-  
shops work, and that the Presbyters did not  
baptize without his order.

As for the Eucharist, Ignatius ad Smyrnatenses,  
saith, *ἐκ τῆς βεβαίας εὐχαριστίας ἡ γαίῃς, ἢ ὑπὸ ἐπί-  
κόπου ἔσται, ἢ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτός ἐπιστολῇ.* And a little af-  
ter *ἐκ τῆς ἐστῆς χάριτος ἐν τῷ βωμῷ τοῦ κυρίου  
ἐστὶν ἐν δυνάμει.* Justin in his second Apol. giving the  
account of their Eucharist and whole service,  
reckons all to have been managed by the *ἐπί-  
σκοπος.* And Tert. de cor. mil. *Non de aliorum quam  
presidentium manibus sumimus.* But all this is very  
unjustly applyed by such as would pretend to  
the whole Ecclesiastical Authority; but would  
exempt themselves from the great labor of it.  
For it is clear, that according to the primitive  
constitution, the Bishop was the immediat Pastor  
of the flock, & the Presbyters were assumed by  
him *in partem sollicitudinis*: the greatest of the  
load still lying on his own shoulders, & this might  
have been some way managed by him, where  
the Diocesses were smaller. But the enlarging  
of the Diocesses hath wholly altered the figure  
of Primitive Episcopacy. All that the Bishop  
can



can now do being to try entrants well; and oversee these that are in charge; which ought not to be performed either by these overly visitations in Synods, or by a pompous procession through the Dioceses, but by a strict and severe examen both of their lives and labors, performed in such visitations, as are fuitable to the simplicity and humility of the Gospel.

As for preaching, it was ordinary at first, even for persons not ordained to preach, not to mention that of the *Corinthians*, where every one brought his *Psalm*, his interpretation, or his doctrine to the meeting, which may be called extraordinary; under which notion, most reject every thing in Scripture that doth not please them. But this continued longer in the Church. *Euseb. lib. 6. hist. cap. 20.* tells that *Origen* before he had gotten the *ἐκποροῖαν τῶν ἀποστόλων* (mark how this word stands here for the order and degree of Presbyterat) was invited earnestly by the Bishops not only to dispute, but also to expound the Scriptures ἐν τῇ κοινῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. In the publick assembly of the Church. For the vindication whereof *Alexander Bishop of Jerusalem*, and *Theodotus Bishop of Cesarea*, wrote to *Demetrius Bishop of Alexandria* thus: *Quod autem in literis adjunxeris nunquam antea auditum, neque jam usurpatum, ut Laici presentibus Episcopis disputarent, scripturæve exponerent in eo mihi, nescio quo modo,*



*videris falsa dixisse: Nam ubi idonei & habiles reperiuntur, qui fratribus in verbo DEI adjumento sint, à sanctis Episcopis rogantur, ut populum DEI instituunt in verbo, sicut Larandis Euelpis à Neone, Iconij Paulinus à Celso, & apud Synadas Theodorus ab Attico, qui omnes beati ac p̄i fratres erant: ac verisimile est, quamvis nobis obscurum & minime cognitum sit, illud idem in alijs locis fieri. Tert. in his Apologeticis cap. 39. tells, that Post aquam manualement & luminem, quisquis ut de Scripturis sanctis, vel de proprio ingenio potest provocatur in medium DEO hymnum canere. And of this remember what was before cited from Hilarie the Deacon on the 4. of the Ephesians. Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 19. saith, that at Rome neither the Bishop, nor any other taught in the Church: but that in Alexandria the Bishop alone taught, that not being allowed to any Presbyter, after Arrius broached his heresie.*

It remains only to be enquired who was the proper Minister of Confirmation. But because this whole matter of Confirmation comes not in so properly upon any of the other Canons, I shal therefore examine all that relates to it here, & shal consider upon what grounds it was used, how early it was practised, with what rites it was administred, who was the proper Minister of it, and for what end it was introduced, and continued in the Church.

From



From *Acts* 8. 15. and 19. 6. all the Fathers have pleaded for this rite: for there we have the laying on of hands practised, as a rite clearly distinct from Baptism: and though we find the holy Ghost conferred by that imposition of hands; thence it will not follow that that action was extraordinary, and so to have expired with the Apostles: For we find extraordinary effects following upon their ordinary actions, such as Ordination, Excommunication, &c. And yet none will plead that these actions are now to be disused, because they are no more attended with such effects. But *Heb.* 6. 2. speaks most plainly for this; where among the foundations of Religion, the laying on of hands is joyned with Baptisms: and this seemed so clear to *Calvin* commenting on that place, that he judges this to have been a rite derived from the Apostles.

The constant ceremonie of it was that which is often mentioned in Scripture, *Imposition of hands*. But besides this, they began very early to use a *Chrisma* of consecrated oyl, with which they anointed them in the brow. This it seems hath been taken from the mention that we find made of anointing, 2. *Cor.* 1. 21. where some think the whole rites of Confirmation are set down in these words: *Now he which stablisheth us with you in CHRIST, and hath anointed us, is*



GOD, who hath also sealed us, & given us the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts. And 1. John 2. 27. we are told of an unction from above, and a holy anointing. But that in these words no material anointing, but the extraordinary conferring of the holy Ghost is meant, seems clear from the text: and so CHRIST is said to be anointed with the oyl of joy above his fellows, though we hear nothing of a material anointing. It is true James 5. 14. there is clear mention made of an anointing with oyl, in which certainly there is no metaphor, but that relates nothing to our purpose. However, it is like from these places it was that the Ancients used the *Chrisma*, for we find that this was very early practised in the Church.

*Theophilus Alexandrinus*, who flourished about the year 170. lib. 1. ad Antolyicum, saith, We are for this reason called Christians, ὅτι χρισμέθα ἐν αἵματι τοῦ Θεοῦ. Et quis mortalium est, qui vel ingreditur in hanc vitam, vel certat in arenâ & non oleo inungatur. Iren. lib. 1. cap. 18. tells, That *Valentinus* used both Confirmation and anointing in the receiving of his disciples, and tells, that he used a mixture of water and oyl with *Opobalsamum*. And this seems to imply that to have been the practise of the Church, for he tells, that *Valentinus* had adapted and transformed the rites of the Church into his Character. *Tert. de bapt. cap. 7.* makes mention of the *Unctio benedicta*,  
qua



qua egressi de lavacro perunguntur. And cap. 8. de  
hinc manus imponitur per benedictionem advocans &  
invitans Spiritum sanctum. Idem de resur. carnis,  
cap. 8. scith, Caro abluitur --- caro ungitur --- caro  
signatur, caro manus impositione adumbratur, et  
anima spiritu illuminetur. And lib. de prescript.  
cap. 36. Aquâ signat, Spiritu sancto vestit, Eu-  
charistiâ pascit. Yet Tert. de Cor. Mil. cap. 3.  
when he recounts these ceremonies which he  
judged to have been of Apostolical tradition,  
doth not reckon this for one.

Cyprian epist. 73. ad Jubaianum, speaking of  
S. Peter and S. John their laying on of hands at  
Samaria, shows it was no new Baptism: Sed tan-  
tummodo quod deerat id à Petro & Joanne factum  
esse, ut oratione pro ijs habitâ, ac manus impositâ, in-  
vocaretur & infunderetur super eos Spiritus san-  
ctus: quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in  
Ecclesiâ baptizantur prepositis Ecclesia offerantur,  
& per nostram orationem & manus impositionem  
Spiritum sanctum consequantur, & signaculo divino  
consummentur. And epist. 70. after he hath spoken  
of Baptism, he adds, Ungi quoque necesse est eum  
qui baptizatus sit, ut accepto Chrismate id est unctio-  
ne esse unctus Dei, & habere in se gratiam Christi  
possit. And he tells, That both the Eucharist &  
oleum unde unguuntur baptizati, in altari sanctifica-  
tur. Cyril of Jerusalem his third Mystagogical  
Catechism is, περί χρίσματος, wherein he describes



the anointing we have from GOD; and the consecrated oyl, which was the rite expressive of the former, comparing it to the dove that descended upon CHRIST, and was his spiritual anointing. Which is also done by *Optatus, lib. 4. com. Parmenianum*, & the *Arcopagite de Eccles. hier. cap. 4.* where he at length describes the rites used in the consecrating of the *Chrisma*. Yet this *Chrisma* was not so peculiar to Confirmation, but that it was also used upon other occasions. *Nazianzen* tells (as is above cited) that such as were ordained, were also anointed. It was also used in Baptism, so both *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, and *Jerome*, and the 48. Canon of the Council of *Laodicea* decrees, that the *Illuminati post baptismum* should be anointed with this *unguentum coeleste*. But by the 1. Can. of the Council of *Orange*, it was decreed, That he who was not anointed at Baptism, should receive the *Chrisma* at his Confirmation: by which it seems they did not repeat the ceremonie of anointing, to such as had received it at Baptism.

Likewise these who returned from heresie, by the 7. Can. of the second General Council were to be anointed & fronte, & oculis, & naribus, & ore, & auribus, & signantes eos dicimus donum Spiritus sancti. And like unto this is the 7. Can. of *Laodicea*. And *Author Resp. ad Orithod.* that goeth under *Iustins* name, ad quest. 14 *Cum hereticus ad*  
veram



*veram fidem accedit, corrigitur lapsus falsæ opinionis, sententia mutatione: baptismi, sancti Chrismatis unctione; ordinationis, manum impositione: nihilq; quod prius erat, indissolutum manet.* Now by this *χειροθεσία*, which he mentions, is not meant a new ordination, which was not given to these that returned from heresie. For as appears by the Council of *Nice*, the Orders which they got among the Hereticks were held valid, and not to be renewed: but this is meant of the ceremony ordinarily given in the absolution and receiving of penitents. *August. cont. Donatist. lib. 5. cap. 23.* confesseth, that the Baptism of hereticks was valid, but denyes that they conferred the holy Ghost, and therefore imposition of hands was given to those who returned from heresie.

Besides this *Chrisma*, they used also in Confirmation the sign of the Cross, of which that phrase of *Tertullian* is to be understood *caro signatur*. And *Aug. in Psal. 141.* speaking of the Sacraments, saith, *Quædam sicut nostri ore accipimus, quædam per totum corpus.* And a little after, *tegat frontem crux Domini*, which words are to be understood of the Eucharist, Baptism & Confirmation. He calls this also *Sacramentum Chrismatis*, *lib. 2. cont. Petilianum, cap. 104.* applying to it that of the oyntment on *Aarons* beard, *Psal. 133.* But elsewhere he calls that bread



which was blest, not with the Eucharistical and Sacramental benediction, but with that lower degree, called *Eulogie*, which might be given to the Catechumens, *Sacramentum Catechumenorum*; using this term largely, as he saith *Epist. ad Marcellinum*. *Signum cum ad rem sacram applicatur, Sacramentum appellatur*. Of this sign of the Cross, is likewise to be understood that of the *Signaculum Dominicum*, mentioned by Cyprian, *Ep. 73*.

The next thing to be enquired after is, who was the Minister of Confirmation? In the Western Church the Bishop did only administer it. So *Jerome adv. Luciferianos*, brings in the Luciferian in the Dialogue. *An nescis Ecclesiarum hunc morem esse, ut baptizatis postea manus imponantur, & ita invocetur Spiritus sanctus? Exigis ubi scriptum est? In Actibus Apostolorum. Etiam si Scripturae auctoritas non subisset, totius orbis hanc in partem consensus, instar praecepti obtineret*. Then he makes the Orthodox to answer: *Non equidem abnuo hanc esse Ecclesiarum consuetudinem, ut ad eos qui longe in minoribus urbibus per Presbyteros & Diaconos baptizati sunt, Episcopus ad invocationem sancti Spiritus excurrat*. And asking why the holy Ghost was not given, but by the Bishop? He answers, *That was potius ad honorem Sacerdotii, quam ad legis necessitatem*. *August. de Trin. lib. 15. cap. 16*. speaking of the Apostles conferring of the holy Ghost, saith, *Orabant, ut veniret Spiritus sanctus in eos quibus manus im-*  
impo-



*imponerent, non enim ipsi eum dabant, quem merens in sua  
propositis etiam nunc servat Ecclesia.*

But in the Greek Church, Presbyters might confirm: so the above cited Hilary on the 4. of the Ephes. *Denique apud Ægyptum Presbyteri consignant, ubi presens non sit Episcopus:* and *lib. quest. in Vet. & Nov. Test. called Augustinus*, but believed to be the same Hilary, *quest. 101. saith, In Alexandria, & per totam Ægyptum si desit Episcopus consecrat Presbyter.* By the comparing of which places, it appears, that it is the same thing which is exprest by these various names of Consecration and Consignation: but what is meant by it, is not agreed to. It is absurd to think that ordination can be meant by it. For that decision of the case of *Ischyrae* shews that in *Alexandria* they were far from allowing Presbyters to ordain without a Bishop. Some think that because Consecration is more usually applyed to the blessing of the Eucharist; therefore both it and Consignation, is so to be understood here. And whereas it is objected that in the cited places some custom peculiar to *Alexandria* seems to be mentioned; but it was universally allowed in the Bishops absence for the Presbyter to consecrate the Eucharist: therefore some other thing must be there meant. It is answered to this, that in other places Presbyters might not consecrate *sine Episcopi iussione*; according to what was cited out of *Ignatius*; and that



that the custom in *Alexandria* hath been, that the Presbyters without any such express mandat, might have consecrated in the Bishops absence. But the general practise of the *Greek Church* enclines me to think, that Confirmation is meant by the cited places, which was usually phrased by Consignation *σφραγίς*, or *σφραγισμός*, only the consecrating of the *Chrisma* and oyl, was peculiar to the Bishop, as his work; so that the *Greeks* seem to have made a difference betwixt the hallowing and applying of the *Chrisma*. The first could only be done by the Bishop, but the second was not denyed to the Presbyters. Even as in the Eucharist none might consecrat but Presbyters, yet laicks of both sexes, in case of necessity, might have carried and given it to the absents.

Of Confirmation administred by Presbyters, some instances do meet us in the *Latin Church*. The first Canon of the Council of *Orange*, permits the use of the *Chrisma* to the Priests, who are appointed to carry some of it always about with them. *Conc. Epawnense, cap. 16.* permits the Presbyters to give the *Chrisma* to such hereticks as were converted on their death-beds. And the second Canon of the Council of *Orange* is: *Hæreticos in mortis discrimine positos, si Catholici esse desiderant, si Episcopus desit, à Presbyteris cum Chrysma & benedictione consignari placuit.* And the



the Council of *Toledo* permits a Presbyter to do it in the Bishops absence, or in his presence, if commanded by him. But both East and West, it was agreed, that the *Chrisma* could not be sanctified by Presbyters. *Conc. Romanum sub Sylv. cap. 5.* decreed it. But as that Council is much suspected, so the reason there given is a very poor one. *Quia Christus dicitur a Chrismate.* But Canon sixth, *Cod. Afric.* is more authentick, *ut Chrisma à Presbyteris non fiat.* And Synod Tolet, *Can. 20. Quamvis pene ubique custodiatur ut absque Episcopo nemo Chrisma conficiat, tamen quia in aliquibus locis vel Provinciis dicuntur Presbyteri Chrisma conficere, placuit ex hoc die nullum alium nisi Episcopum hoc facere.* And the *Areopagite*, as he at length describes it, and descants upon it, so he appropriats it to the Bishop.

Gregory the Great, *lib. 3. Epist. 9.* writing to *Januarius* Bishop of *Caralis* in *Sardinia*, discharges Presbyters to anoint with the *Chrisma* on the brow, appointing that to be reserved to the Bishop: for *Sardinia*, and the other Isles, had observed the customs of the *Greek Church*: but Gregory *Epist. 26.* writing to that same person, tells, that he heard how some were scandalized, because he had discharged Presbyters the use of the *Chrisma*, which he therefore takes off in these words: *Et nos quidem secundum usum veterem Ecclesiæ nostræ fecimus, sed si omnino hac de re aliqui*



*aliqui contristantur, ubi Episcopi desunt, ut Presbyteri etiam in frontibus baptizatos Chrismate tangere debeant concedimus.*

But 200. years afterward, *Nicolaus* first Bishop of *Rome*, observed not that moderation. For the *Bulgarians* who were converted by the *Greeks*, receiving the *Chrisma* from the Presbyters according to the custom of that Church; *Nicolaus* sent Bishops to them, and appointed such as had been confirmed by Presbyters to be confirmed again by Bishops. But upon this, *Photius*, who was then Patriarch of *Constantinople*, called a Synod, in which it was decreed, that the *Chrisma* being hallowed by a Bishop, might be administered by Presbyters. And *Photius* in his epistle contends, that a Presbyter might, *unguento signare, sanctificare, consummatus augere, & expiatorium donum baptizato consummare*, as well as he might either baptize or offer at the Altar. But *Nicolaus* impudently denied, that this had ever been permitted, and upon this account it is, that many of the *Latines* have charged the *Greek Church*, as if there were no Confirmation used among them. But this challenge is denied and rejected by the *Greeks*. And so much of the Minister of Confirmation.

It is in the last place to be considered, what value was set upon this action, and for what ends it was practised in the Church. We have already



dy heard *Augustin* call it a Sacrament. It is likewise so termed by *Cyprian* *epist.* 72. and in the records of the *Council* held by him for the rebaptizing of Hereticks. But as was marked before, they took that term largely for any holy rite or symbolical action: Whereas a Sacrament strictly taken is a holy rite instituted by Christ for a federal stipulation, by which the promises of the Gospel are sealed, and grace conveyed to the worthie receivers. Now in this sense it is visible, that Confirmation is no Sacrament: it neither being instituted by Christ, nor having any grace appended to it. Neither is it so totally distinct from Baptism, being but a renovation of the Baptismal vow, joyned with prayer, and a solemn benediction.

Some have thought, that Confirmation was only used by the Ancients, as an appendix, or a consummatory rite of Baptism, which mistake is founded upon this, that some of the riper age being baptized, got this imposition of hands after Baptism. For the clearing of which some things must be considered: First, The Ancients used an imposition of hands before Baptism, to such as were admitted to be *Catechumens*, who were in the Christian Church, like the *Proselytes* of the gates among the *Jewes*: for they having renounced Idolatrie, were admitted to some parts of the Christian worship, and instructed



sted in the faith for some time, before they could commence Christians. And an imposition of hands was used, when any were admitted to this order: so it is express in the 39. Canon of *Elib.* and in the Greek *Euchologie* there is a prayer εἰς τὸ ποιῆσαι τὸν κατηχούμενον. Where it is said, *Inflat signat & manum imponit.* And in the Liturgie called *S. Marks*, *Quotquot ad Baptismum dispositi estis accedite, ac manus impositionem & benedictionem accipite, dein manum imponit Sacerdos.* And *Euseb. de vita Const. lib. 4.* saith of *Constantine*; *Confessione factâ precum particeps factus est per impositionem manuum.* The *Arcopagite* makes mention also of this as done twice before Baptism; and *Aug. de mer. & remis. pec. lib. 2. cap. 26.* *Catechumenum secundum quendam modum suum per signum & orationem manuum impositionis puto sanctificari.* And *Cyprian ad Steph.* makes Baptism a superaddition to that imposition of hands: which he drawes from the example of *Cornelius*, upon whom the Spirit falling first, he was afterward baptized. It is true, he is there speaking of such as turned from heresie, who he judged should be rebaptized, after an imposition of hands first given them.

But as the 39. Canon of *Elib.* speaks of an imposition of hands given before Baptism, so the 7. Canon of that same Council, mentions another given after it. *Si quis Diaconus regens plebem*  
*sine*



*sine Episcopo, vel Presbyteris, aliquos baptizaverit, eos per benedictionem perficere debebit.* And by the 33. Canon of that Council, any Laick that was baptized, and was no *Bigamus*, might baptize a *Catechumen* if sick. *Ita ut si supervixerit, ad Episcopum eum perducatur, ut per manus impositionem perficere (or as others read it perfici) possit.* If the first be the reading, it will relate to Confirmation; if the second, it will relate to the completing of the Baptism.

The 48. Canon of *Laodicea* is, *Illuminatos post baptismum unguento cœlesti liniendos esse.* To infer from that, that Confirmation was immediately to follow upon Baptism is, *ἀπελολογεῖν, for μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα* doth not imply that it was to be done immediately after, but only that Baptism was to go before it: and we find that same phrase in the Canons immediately preceding this, applied to such as had been of a great while baptized. But though such as were of riper years had been confirmed immediately after they received Baptism, it will no more prove that Confirmation was an appendix of Baptism, then that the Eucharist was so likewise, which was also given to them at the same time. So the *Areopagite* tells, how such as were baptized, were carried by the Priest to the Bishop. *Ille vero unguento consecrato virum ungens sacrosanctæ Eucharistiæ participem esse pronunciat.* And though even



even children were confirmed immediately after Baptism, that doth not prove the one but a rite of the other: for we find that not only in the *African Churches*, but also in the *Roman Church*, the custom of giving children the Eucharist immediately after Baptism, continued long: for the *Ordo Romanus*, held by some a work of the eleventh Century, appoints, that children be permitted to eat nothing after they are baptized, till they received the Eucharist. That same practise is also mentioned by *Hugo the S. Victor*, *lib. 1. cap. 20.* in the twelfth Century. And all the *Greek Writers* assert the necessity of childrens receiving the Eucharist, and yet none asserted the Eucharist to be but a rite of Baptism. *Cornelius* tells of *Novatian* (*apud Eusebium, lib. 6. hist. cap. 35.*) how he was baptized *Clinicus*, and being recovered *nec reliquorum particeps factus, quæ secundum Canones Ecclesie obtinere debuerat, nec ab Episcopo obsignatus est.* (It is true, it is in the *Greek* *καὶ τὸ σφραγισθῆναι*, as if it were explicative of the *καὶ λειπῆναι*, which in the former words he said he wanted; whence some infer, that Confirmation was but one of the Baptismal rites. But it is clear that the true reading is *καὶ τὸ*, and so *Nicephorus* hath read it) *quo non impetrato, quomodo Spiritum sanctum obtinuisse putandus est.* Yet from the Story it appears that Confirmation was judged only necessary  
ad



*ad bene esse*, and not to the *esse* of a Christian; since notwithstanding the want of this, *Fabian* Bishop of *Rome* ordained *Novatian* a Presbyter.

The *Greek Euchologie* shews, that such as were baptized, were after their baptism anointed, and so to be confirmed: and it subjoyning that the Eucharist was to be given to them, proves no more the one to be a rite of Baptism than the other.

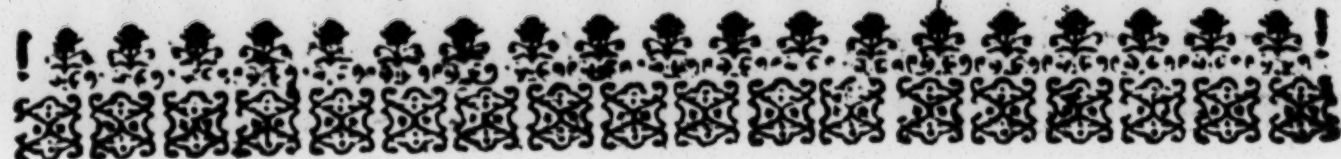
The whole current of the Fathers runs, that in Confirmation the holy Ghost was conferred. *August. de Bapt. cont. Donatistas, lib. 3. cap. 16. Spiritus sanctus in solâ Catholicâ, per manus impositionem dari dicitur*, which he derives from the Apostles, though these extraordinary effects of speaking of Tongues, or the like, did not follow upon it: *Sed invisibiliter & latenter per vinculum pacis, est eorum cordibus charitas divina inspirata.* And concludes, *Quid enim est aliud nisi oratio super hominem?*

And certainly, were Confirmation restored according to the Apostolical practice, and managed with a primitive sincerity, nothing should give more probable hopes of a recovery of the Christian Church, out of the darkness and deadness in which it hath continued so long. It might quicken persons more seriously to consider to what they were engaged in Baptism, when they were put to so solemn a renovation of it. But



the more denuded it were of all unnecessary rites, such as oyl, and the like, it might be more suitable to the Evangelical Spirit. And we see likewise from Antiquity, that there is no reason for appropriating this action wholly, or only to the Bishop. It should not be gone about till the person were ripe in years, and not only able by rote to recite a Catechism, but of a fitness to receive the Eucharist immediatly after. But I shal conclud this whole matter with *Calvins* words, *lib. 4. Instit. cap. 19. §. 4. & sequentibus*: where after he hath layd out the primitive practise of Confirmation, he subjoyns: *Hac disciplina, si hodie valeret, profecto parentum quorundam ignavia acueretur, qui liberorum institutionem, quasi rem nihil ad se pertinentem, negligunt; quam tum sine publico dedecore omittere non possent. Major esset in populo Christiano fidei consensus, nec tanta multorum inscitia, & ruditas, non adeo temere quidam novis, & peregrinis dogmatibus, abriperentur; omnibus denique esset quaedam velut methodus doctrina Christiana.*





A SUPPLEMENT ABOUT  
THE RURAL BISHOPS,  
CALLED  
CHOREPISCOPI.

**I**T hath been already marked, that the extent of the Diocesses was not all of one proportion: and generally the Villages which lay adjacent to Cities, having received the Gospel at first from them, continued in subjection to the City, as to their mother Church: whereby the Bishops Parish was not limited to the City, but did also include the adjacent Villages. The inscription of *Clemens* his Epistles insinuates this: Ἐκκλησία τῆ δεῦ ἡ παροικῶσα Ρώμην. Τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆ δεῦ παροικέσῃ κέρινθον. By which we see, that the Churches of *Rome* and *Corinth* were made up not only of such as inhabited the Towns; but also of such as dwelt about them: and this is yet clearer from *Ignatius* his inscription of his Epistle to the *Romans*; ἐκκλησία ἥτις προκείμεται ἐν τόπῳ χωρὶς Ρωμαίων. Neither did they judge it fit to ordain Bishops in smaller or lesser Cities, as appears by the Council of *Sardis*, Canon 6. where it is decreed, that a Bishop



should not be ordained ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ ἢ βραχεΐα πόλει ἢ τινὶ, καὶ εἰς μόνος πρεσβύτερος ἐπαρκεῖ. Adding, that it was not necessary that Bishops should be ordained there, lest the name and dignity of a Bishop should be vilipended.

But before this, it was decreed in the Council of *Laodicea*, Canon 57. οὐτὶ ἐδεῖ ἐν ταῖς κώμας, καὶ ἐν ταῖς χώραις καθίστασθαι ἐπισκόπους ἀλλὰ (for so reads the Manuscript of Oxford, *Dionysius Exiguus*, *Isidore Mercator*, *Hervetus*, and *Justellus*; and not ἢ, vel, as *Binius*) περιοδεύτας: who were to do nothing without the knowledge of the Bishop of the City. Whom the learned *Beverigius* observes (on this Canon) to have been distinct from the Rural Bishops; which he makes out both from the Civil Law, and a place of *Gennadius*, where the Orders of Church-men being reckoned, these circular Visitors are set in a middle rank betwixt the Rural Bishops and Presbyters. Frequent mention is also made of these Visitors in the Acts of the Council at *Chalcedon*. This course therefore they took for these Villages to send Presbyters from the City, who were called πρεσβύτεροι ἐπιχώριοι; and because the Bishop could not immediately oversee them himself, he did therefore substitute a Vicar and Deleгат who was generally called χωρεπίσκοπος. The first time that we meet with any of these, is in the beginning of the fourth Century,  
in



in the Councils of *Ancyra*, *Neocesarea*, and *Antiochia*. These differed from Presbyters, in that they got an ordination distinct from theirs, called by the Council of *Antioch* ἡ χειροθεσία των ἐπισκόπων. They also might have ordained *Subdeacons*, *Lectors*, and *Exorcists*, and given them commendatory letters. But they differed from Bishops in these things: First, that they were ordained but by one Bishop, as appears by the tenth Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, χωρεπίσκοπον δὲ γίνεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἢ ὑποκείται ἐπισκόπου. And therefore it is that *Balsamon* calls them, των ἐπισκόπων ἐξαρχεῖ. Now we have already seen, that a Bishop must be ordained by two Bishops at least. Next, these χωρεπίσκοποι were ordained μὴ έχοντες καθέδρας οἰκίας, saith *Zonaras*. And therefore in their subscriptions of the Councils, they only design themselves *Chorepiscopi*, without mentioning the place where they served, as the Bishops do. Now Bishops could not be ordained but with a title to a particular charge and See. Thirdly, their power was limited, and in many things inferior to the power of Bishops. So Pope *Leo* the first, in his 88. *Epist.* *Quamvis, cum Episcopis plurima illis ministeriorum communis sit dispensatio, quaedam tamen Ecclesiasticis regulis sibi prohibita norint, sicut Presbyterorum & Diaconorum consecratio.* They might in general do nothing ἀνευ γνώμης



ἐπισκόπῳ, and both the Council of *Ancyra*, Canon 13. And that of *Antioch*, Canon 10. discharge them the ordaining of Presbyters or Deacons. The words of the Council of *Antioch* are δίχα τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, which words clearly import, that the Bishop must have interveened in the Ordination, and so are wrong rendered by an old *Latine* Edition, *præter conscientiam Episcopi*. As if they had been only limited not to ordain unless the Bishop gave warrant. And thus these Bishops of the villages and lesser Cities were reduced from the degree of Bishops, to an inferior and limited Office, and were undoubtedly of the Episcopal Order, though their authority was much abridged.

In the Council of *Neocesarea* their relation to the Bishop, is compared to that of the seventy Disciples to the Apostles, and they are called, Συλλειτουργοί. And that which is there marked as their chief work, is their care of the poor. But by the Canon of *Antioch*, they might have ordained *Lectors*, *Sub-Deacons*, and *Exorcists*. And yet *Basil* in his 181. *Epist.* saith, That they might not have ordained, even these inferior ranks, without having first advertised the Bishop, and sent their testimonies, and the suffrages of their election to him: Which is observed by *Aristenus* in his gloss on the 13. Canon of *Ancyra*: and by *Mathæus Blastares* in his *Synagoga*, cap. 31. But



But *Damasus*, who was about the year 370. writes his whole fourth *epistle* against them, telling that he found it decreed by his predecessors, that they should be abolished, *Prohibiti tam ab hac sacrâ sede, quam à totius orbis Episcopis. --- Nam (ut nobis relatum est) quidam Episcoporum, propter suam quietem, eis plebes suas committere non formidant.* And falls severely on these Bishops, and compares them to Mercenaries & Whoors, that give out their children to others to suckle. He proves they were not Bishops, because not ordained by three Bishops, and descants upon the Canons of *Neacesarea* and *Antioch*, which seem to import, as if they had the Ordination of Bishops; adding; *Cesset ergo, cesset tot vicibus damnata presumptio.* And yet Pope *Leo* (as we have already cited) who was Bishop of *Rome* about 70. years after him, makes mention of them. And notwithstanding of all he saith against them, of their being condemned, it doth not appear when or where it was so done. Express mention is made of them in the Council of *Nice*, Canon 8. as of a rank distinct from Presbyters. It being there provided, that such *na-dapoi*, as returned to the unity of the Church, should continue in that same order of the Clergie, wherein they were before, only such of them as were Bishops might not continue Bishops of a City, where there was already a Bi-

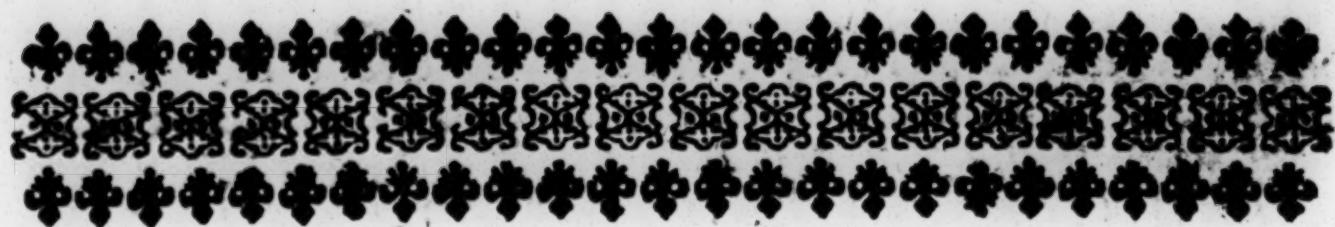


shop placed: because there could not be two Bishops in one City: but if it pleased the Bishop, they might either retain the bare name of a Bishop, or be made Chorepiscopi, or continue among the Presbyters.

Mention also is made of them in the 2. Canon of the general Council of *Chalcedon*, which shews, that at that time they were not wholly taken away: but the latest accounts we have of them is in *France*, where it seems they continued longest. *Conc. Paris. anno 829.* they are *cap. 27.* compared to the 70. disciples, according to that of *Neocesarea*, and Bishops are appointed to see that they did nothing beyond what was permitted to them by the Canons. The like is decreed *Conc. Meldensi anno 845. cap. 44.* And it is expressed there, that they might neither give the holy *Chrisma*, nor the holy Ghost, nor confer any order above that of a Subdeacon, nor consecrate Churches. *Conc. Metensi, anno 888. cap. 5.* It was decreed, That Churches consecrated by them were to be again consecrated by a Bishop, and any thing they did which was proper to a Bishop was declared null, and they are reckoned all one with Presbyters; and here we loose sight of them, hearing no more of them: for as they arose insensibly, so they vanished in the like fashion. So much of them and upon the first Canon.

THE





# THE SECOND

## C A N O N.

Πρεσβύτερος ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ἐπισκόπου χειροτονεῖσθαι καὶ  
διάκονος, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κληρικοί.

*A Presbyter shal be ordained by one Bishop, so like-  
wise a Deacon, and the rest of the Clergie.*



WE find most of the Fathers, even Jerome himself, drawing the subordination among Church-men from what was under the Law ; and therefore Deacons were ordinarily called *Levites*. But there is more ground to think, it was immediatly taken from the form of the Synagogue, though that constitution might have had its rise from the model of the Temple-service. I shal not here engage in a large examen of the first origine and rise of the Synagogues, or of the worship performed in them, or debate whether they began before



before the captivity, in it, or after it. Nor what ground there may be from the word *Synagogue* used *Psal.* 74. 8. to assert their early date. But certain it is, that the Temple-Worship was meerly typical, in which the whole people were to assist, but at a few returns of the year. And beside this, the Law of nature dictats, that GOD is to be frequently and solemnly worshipped by such as acknowledge his great Name, which will plead for an early rise to these Assemblies.

But be it that what may be, two things are certain. The one is, that Synagogues were constitute in our Saviors time, and that there were Rulers, and chief Rulers in these Synagogues, that in them prayers were said, the Law was read, expounded, and exhortations made upon it, and Discipline was used, and such as were faulty were cast out of these Synagogues. All this is evident from the New Testament: and much more then this can be gathered out of *Jewish* writings. Now our Saviors going into these Synagogues, reading the Law, and preaching in them, doth abundantly evince, that this constitution was not unlawful.

Another thing is as clear from the Old Testament, that there was neither written command, nor warrant for such Assemblies; and the contrary of this none can undertake to make out.

From



From which positions, both of them equally clear and certain, a great step might be made for the calming and composing of debates about Government, were heats and prejudices out of the way. It being apparent, that there was an entire frame of Church-Government, and worship among the Jews, which was not unlawful, though not of divine institution.

In the Synagogues there was (as is marked before) first, one that was called the Bishop of the Congregation. Next, the three Orderers, & Judges of every thing about the Synagogue, who were called *Tsekenim*, and by the Greeks *πρεσβύτεροι*, or *γέροντες*. These ordered and determined every thing that concerned the Synagogues, or the persons in it. Next them, were the three *Parnassin* or Deacons, whose charge was to gather the collections of the rich, and to distribute them to the poor: And these were called *Septem viri boni Civitatis*. The term *Elder*, was generally given to all their Judges: but chiefly to these of the great *Sanhedrim*, so we have it *Math. 16. 21. Mark 8. 31. 14. 43.* and *15. 1.* And *Acts 23. 14.* And for a fuller satisfaction to this, I must refer you to such as have given an account of the Synagogue out of the Jewish Writers.

Next, a great deal might be said to prove that the Apostles in their first constitutions, took things



things as they had them modelled to their hand in the Synagogue : and this they did , both because it was not their design to innovate, except where the nature of the Gospel Dispensation obliged them to it. As also , because they took all means possible to gain the *Jews*, who we find were zealous adherers to the traditions of their Fathers , and not easily weaned from these precepts of *Moses*, which by *CHRIST'S* death were evacuated : and if the Apostles went so great a length in complying with them in greater matters, as circumcision, and other legal observances , ( which appears from the *Acts* and *Epistles* ) we have good grounds to suppose, that they would have yeilded to them in what was more innocent and less important. Besides, there appears both in our *L O R D* himself, & in his Apostles, a great inclination to symbolize with them, as far as was possible. Now the nature of the Christian Worship shows evidently, that it came in the room of the Synagogue, which was moral, and not of the Temple-Worship, which was typical and ceremonial. Likewise , this parity of customs betwixt the *Jews* and Christians, was such , that it made them be taken by the *Romans* , and other more overly observers, for one sect of Religion : and finally , any that will impartially read the New Testament, will find, that when the forms of Govern-



Government, or Worship are treated of, it is not done with such architectonical exactness, as was necessary, if a new thing had been instituted, which we find practised by *Moses*. But the Apostles rather speak, as these who give rules for the ordering, and directing of what was already in being. From all which it seems well grounded and rational to assume, that the first constitution of the Christian Churches, was taken from the model of the Synagogue, in which these Elders were separated, for the discharge of their employment, by an imposition of hands, as all *Jewish* Writers do clearly witness.

So the Presbyters of the Christian Church were ordained by an imposition of hands. Their power was not only to preach, which (as I showed already) was common to others, but also to administer Sacraments; so that it is true which *Jerome* saith, *Communi consilio Presbyterorum res gerebantur*.

We have already considered, how necessary it was judged, that no Ordination of Presbyters might be gone about without the presence and concurrence of the Bishop, as the principal person, which was judged necessary (as I suppose) more upon the account of Unity and Order, then from the nature of the thing in its self: for taking things in themselves, it will follow, that  
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whatever power one hath, he may transmit to another; and therefore there seems to be small reason, why one who hath the power of preaching the Gospel, and administering Sacraments, may not also transmit the same to others: and it seems unreasonable so to appropriate this to a Bishop, as to annul these Ordinations which were managed by Presbyters, where Bishops could not be had. *Maimonides* saith, Every one regularly ordained, hath power to ordain his disciples also.

There remains nothing to be cleared about this from Antiquity, save the 13. Canon of the Council of *Ancyra*, which runs thus. Χωρεπισκόποις μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὲν πρεσβυτέροις, (others read πρεσβυτεροῦς) πόλεως χάρις τῷ ἐπιτραπῆναι ὑπὸ τῶ ἐπισκόπου μεταγράμματα ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ. Others read ἐκάστη παροικίᾳ.

Now the difficulty raised about this Canon is this, that if the reading be ἐκάστη and πρεσβυτέρους, then it will follow, that the Presbyters of the City might have ordained without the Bishops presence, if they had his warrant in writing. Yet, they also infer, that it is probable that before that, they ordained even without the Bishops warrant, to which they were limited by this Canon: and upon this *Wallo Messalinus* triumphs not a little. But *Blondel* choosed



rather to read the Canon *ὑπερεπισκοπῆς*; as if the meaning of it were, that the *Chorepiscopi* could not have ordained either Presbyters or Deacons; nor the Presbyters of the City without the Bishops warrant in writing; which will infer, that they might have done it being so warranted. It is true, *Binius* hath read it so; so also hath *Gentianus Hervetus*, as appears by his *Latin* version of this Council. The *Arabick Manuscript* also favors this. And it is directly asserted by *Zonaras* on this Canon, and *Aristennus*.

But it is contradicted by the whole tract of Antiquity, whom we find all concurring in this, that the *Chorepiscopi* might neither ordain Presbyters, nor Deacons without a Bishop, as was cleared in its due place. But for that of *Wallo Messalinus*, it will appear to be ill grounded: For first, it is certain that the *Chorepiscopi* were a dignity above Presbyters. It will be therefore unreasonable to think that Presbyters could do that which was unlawful to the other. Besides, how bad an inference is it from one Canon of a Provincial Council, of which there are such various readings, to argue for a thing which is not only without any other ground, but also contrary to the whole current of Antiquity? And it was but few years after this, that in *Alexandria* the Ordination<sup>s</sup> given by *Coluthus*, who was



was but a Presbyter, and only *παντας τοὺς ἐπισκοποῦν*, were annulled. Now *Ancyra* being in *Asia* the lesser, and diverse Bishops out of *Syria* being there, in particular the Bishops of *Antioch* and *Cesarea*, who subscribed first; how came it that there was no notice of this had at *Alexandria*, to have prevented their severe sentence in the case of *Coluthus*?

But to consider the readings of the Canon, *Binius* reads it *ἐτέρᾳ*, so *Justellus*: it is true, he hath on the margin (*aliter ἑκάστῃ*) *Hervetus* hath translated it, in *alienâ Parochia*. Now if this be the true reading, the meaning of it will run thus. Whereas by a great many other Canons, Presbyters were so tyed to their Bishop, that no Bishop was to receive the Presbyter of another Bishop, without his Bishops warrant and licence, and his *littera pacifica*, and *dimissoria*. So here the Presbyters of the City are discharged to go and assist at Ordinations, in other Parishes, without a written licence from their own Bishop.

But as this Canon is read (*ἑκάστῃ*) by some, so they seem to have added to it, *μηδὲν πράττειν*, or *μηδὲν κελεύειν*; so that the meaning of it is, that the Presbyters of the City might do nothing without the Bishops warrant and licence in writing: Thus have both *Isidorus Mercator*, & *Dionysius Exiguus* read it, as appears by their *Latin* versions



versions which are, *Sed nec Presbyteris civitatis ( licet ) sine Episcopi-praecepto, aliquid amplius imperare, vel sine auctoritate literarum ejus, in unaquaque Parochiâ aliquid agere.* And this is according to *Binius* his edition of them. But in another edition of *Dionysius Exiguus* by *Justellus*, he seems to have read it simply *ἐκαστη*, without any supplement.

Another old *Latin* edition published by *Justellus* hath, *Sed neque Presbyteris civitatis licere, sine jussione Episcopi, sed cum ejusdem literis eundem ad singulas Parochias.* *Joannes Antiochenus* in his *Collectio Canonum*, reads it simply *ἐκαστη παροικια*. *Ferrandus* in his *breviatio Canonum*, Canon 92. cites this part of the Canon thus: *Ut Presbyteri civitatis, sine jussu Episcopi, nihil jubeant, nec in unaquaque Parochiâ aliquid agant.* *Alexius Aristinus* in his *Synopsis*, hath the first part of the Canon, but wants the second part. ( And in his *Gloss* agrees with *Zonaras*, as was before observed.) And so doth *Simeon Logotheta*, in his *Epitome Canonum*. And by this diversity of reading, it will appear how little ground there is for founding any thing upon this Canon alone, especially when that alledged from it, is contradicted by undeniable evidences.

But as Presbyters might not ordain without Bishops, so neither could Bishops ordain without the advice, consent, and concurrence of

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their Presbyters *Conc. Carth. 4. Canon 22. Ut Episcopus, sine concilio Clericorum suorum, Clericos non ordinet, ita ut civium testimonium & conniventiam querat.* And it was laid to Chrysostome his charge ὅτι ἀνεὺ συνεδρίου καὶ παρὰ γνώμης τε κληρικοῦ ποιεῖ τὰς χειροτονίας. And in the Roman Council held by Sylvester (if credit be due to the Registers of that Council, which are indeed justly questionable) it was decreed, *cap. 11. that one was to be ordained a Presbyter, cum omnes Presbyteri declararent & firmarent, & sic ad ordinem Presbyterij accederet.* And none was to be made a Bishop, *nisi omnis Clerus expeteret uno voto perenni.*

It is likewise certain, that all things were done by the joynt advice of Bishop and Presbyters. Neither were these wretched contests, of the limits of Power, much thought on, or tossed among them. The Bishops pretending to no more, then Presbyters were willing to yeeld to them; and Presbyters claiming no more, then Bishops were ready to allow them. Their contentions lay chiefly with these that were without; those intestine fewds, and broils being reserved for our unhappy dayes.

But as we find Cyprian amply declaring, how he resolved to do nothing without the consent of his Clergy, and people: so in the African Churches that course continued longest in vigor



vigor. Diverse instances whereof appear in the 4. Council of Carthage, one I have already cited, to which I shal add three more, Can. 23. *Episcopus nullius causam audiat, absque presentia Clericorum suorum, alioquin irrita erit sententia Episcopi, nisi Clericorum presentia confirmetur.* Can. 34. *Episcopus in quolibet loco sedens, stare Presbyterum non patiatur.* And Can. 35. *Episcopus in Ecclesia, & in confessu Presbyterorum, sublimior sedeatur; intra domum vero, collegam Presbyterorum sese esse cognoscat.*

There were two ranks of Presbyters, as clearly appears from the 13. Canon of Neocesarea, to wit, the Presbyters of the City, and the Presbyters of the Countrey. The former were the more eminent, in so far that the latter might not consecrate the Eucharist within the Church of the City in their presence, which appears from the cited Canon. Over the Presbyters of the Countrey were the *Chorepiscopi*, of whom already: but the Presbyters of the City being next at hand, were the Bishops Counsel, and advisers in all matters. The Bishop and they had the oversight of the souls within the City. They were also to be maintained out of the Treasury of the Church, and were called *Canonici* or *Prebendarij*. The reason why they were called *Canonici*, was either, because of their regular observing of the course of Worship, and hours of



Prayer: or because of the distributions that were made among them, according to the Canon or Rule, and from the share that was assigned to them, called *Præbenda*, they got the name *Præbendarij*.

This *Confessus* or *Collegium Presbyterorum*, was afterwards designed by the barbarous word *Capitulum*. The chief over them, or the *Vice præses* next to the Bishop was called *Archipresbyter*, or *Dæcanus*, *Idem quod decurio*, *qui decem militibus præerat*: And insensibly the whole Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction crept into their hands. The Presbyters of the Countrey either neglecting it, or being neglected in it. But without the *Capitulum*, nothing that the Bishop did was valid.

However, when the first fervor and vigor of Church-Discipline slackened: avarice and ambition creeping in apace into the hearts of Church-men, these *Chanoins* or *Præbends* not contented with their allowances out of the Church of the City, which were too smal for their growing desires, got Churches in the Countrey annexed to them: and for most part served them by substitutes, except at the return of some solemn festivities: and by this means it was, that Church-Discipline fell totally into the Bishops hands; and the ancient model being laid aside, new courts which were unknown to Antiquity, were set up. As these of the *Arch-dea-*



*cons* , *Chancellors* , *Officials* , *Surrogats* , &c. However the *Prabends* , though they had deserted their interest in Church-Discipline , yet two things they stuck to, because of the advantage and power that followed them.

The one was the Capitular Elections of the Bishop , and the other was the meddling with, and disposing of the Church revenues, and treasure. But it was a gross contradiction to the ends of Government , that the Bishop alone might manage the Spiritual part of his charge, but must be limited to the advice of his Presbyters for the governing of the temporality. Yet this was a further proof of that saying, *Religio peperit divitias, & filia devoravit matrem*. And thus far we have seen what interest Presbyters had within their own Parish ( mark that at first the Bishops precinct was called *Parish*, and not *Diocess* ) neither was the meeting of the Bishop with his Presbyters called a Synod : by which we see how weak that alledgeance is, that there were no *Diocesan Bishops* in the first Centuries, it being meerly a playing with the word *Diocess*.

But let us next consider what interest Presbyters had in *Provincial* or *National Councils*. If that of the *Acts 15*. was a Synod, in it we have Presbyters subscribing with the Apostles. Brethren are also there added , not as if there had



been any Laiks elected out of the Laity, such as these are who are now vulgarly called *Lay- Elders*, but some more eminent Christians, whom as the Apostles called then, so the Bishops continued afterward to consult and advise with in Ecclesiastick matters. But that Presbyters sate in Provincial Synods in the first and purest ages, is undeniably clear. When *Victor* held the Council at *Rome* about the day of Easter, *Damasus* tells that it was *collatione facta cum Presbyteris & Diaconibus*. Likewise in the Council that *Cyprian* held, about the rebaptizing of Hereticks, there were present, *Episcopi plurimi ex provinciâ Africanâ, Numidiâ, Mauritanîâ, cum Presbyteris & Diaconibus, presente etiam plebis maximâ parte*. And his contemporary *Firmilian*, whose Epistle is the 75. among *Cyprians*, tells us, how there were yearly Synods of Bishops and Presbyters, *Quâ ex causâ, saith he, necessario apud nos sit, ut per singulos annos seniores & Presbyteri*, (by which it is clear, that he can mean none, but Presbyters and Bishops) *in unum conveniamus, ad disponenda ea, quæ cura nostra commissa sunt*.

*Eusebius lib. 6. cap. 35.* tells, That upon the account of *Novatus* his schism, there was held at *Rome* *σύνδος μέγιστη*, which consisted of sixty Bishops, and many more Presbyters, and Deacons, *πλειόνων δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ διακόνων*. He likewise tells *lib. 7. cap. 27.* How that



that upon *Samosatenus* his heresie, there was a great Synod held in *Antioch*: and after he hath set down the names of some Bishops there present, he adds, that there were *μυρίοι τε ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ διακόνους*. And their Synodal letter is written in the name of the Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons.

In the Council of *Eliberis* in *Spain*, there were 19. Bishops, *residentibus triginta sex Presbyteris, adstantibus Diaconibus & omni plebe*. In the Provincial Council at *Arles*, which judged in the matter of *Donatus* his schism, *Constantin* the Emperor being present, where were about two hundred Bishops from diverse Nations, from *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Africk*, *Numidia*, and *Britain*, the Canons of that Council are subscribed by many Presbyters and Deacons. And if the story of the Council of *Rome* under *Sylvester* be true, it is subscribed by 284. Bishops, 45. Presbyters, and 5. Deacons. Now all these being before the Council of *Nice*, evince that in the first and best ages, Presbyters voted and judged in Provincial Councils, and if in Provincials, why not in General ones?

The Council of *Nice* is subscribed by some *Chorepiscopi*, and one *Chorepiscopus* subscribes in the Council of *Ephesus*. And if *Chorepiscopi* be (as it is the opinion of some) in their natural dignity only Presbyters, then we have Presby-



ters also subscribing General Councils. Besides that in the Council of *Constantinople*, and *Ephesus*, diverse Bishops subscribed by Presbyters: from all which it is clear, that there is no ground from Antiquity to exclude Presbyters from a suffrage in National & General Councils: & it is but a frivolous distinction that they may have a consultative, though not a deliberative suffrage, since we see them subscribing both the decisions of faith and Canons of Discipline.

The next thing to be examined, is the qualification, election, and ordination of Presbyters. For their qualification, great care was used to train them up long in an abstracted and devote life, that so they might be well prepared for that holy function. And therefore it was that many of the Primitive Bishops lived in Monasteries among them; whom they were educating for holy Orders, as appears from the lives of *Basil*, *Augustin*, and *Martin*: Neither was one to be ordained a Presbyter, but after a long probation and tryal, and all these degrees, of which we shal speak afterward, were so many steps & preparations through which all were to go, before they could be initiated. And indeed it seems against reason, at first step to ordain a man Presbyter, & commit the care of souls to him, before a long previous probation had of him.

Therefore the ancient Monasteries, as they  
were



were Sanctuaries for such as designed to leave the world, and live devoutly, so they were also Colledges for the education of Church-men. It is true, the years of probation may seem too many; but they ordinarily dispensed in that, as they found persons worthy and qualified. But none might be Presbyter before he were thirty years of age, according to the Council of Neocesarea, even though he were highly worthy (*πάρυ ἀξιός.*) And the reason given for this, is, because CHRIST was thirty years of age before he entred upon the discharge of his holy function.

Likewise a *Clinicus*, that is, one baptized in sickness, by the twelfth Canon of Neocesarea, could not have been a Presbyter, because he was not a Christian, *ἐκ ἀγορεύσεως ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης.* And this was not to be dispensed with, but upon his following faith and diligence, or that others could not be had.

And in the *Canon Law*, *dist. 77. cap. Siquis*, among other prerequisites for a Presbyter, one is: *Si pœnitentiam publicam non gesserit*, holding that any gross scandal committed after Baptism, should be a bar upon a man from being ordained a Presbyter.

As also *Dist. 56. cap. 1.* the children of Presbyters are discharged to be ordained: *Presbyterorum filios à sacris altaris ministerijs removemus, nisi aut in Cœnobijs, aut in Canonicis religiose probati fuerint*



*facient conversari.* It is like, this was either to discourage the marriage of Church-men, or to obviate the scandal might have been taken, if they had been partial to their own children. Yet this was neither old nor universal; for *Nazianzen* was both a Presbyter and a Bishop, though a Bishops son. And in the next Chapter of that same *Dist.* many instances are alleged by *Damasus* to the contrary.

Further, none who had been souldiers, and were *Curiales*, and *abstracti curia*, could have been ordained without a dimission, and that they had been fifteen years in a Monastery, and three parts of four of their estat were adjudged to the fisk; so *Dist.* 53. and *Justinian* 123. *Nov.* Now this might be first, lest any weary of the service to which they were obliged, should upon that pretence shake it off, and run from their colors, or other employments. But next, that men who had been much involved in the world, and particularly men of blood, might not enter into holy Orders, without a long precedent change of the course of their life; it not being easie to pass of a sudden from a course of secularity, to that sublimity of holiness which is necessary for such a sacred function.

And finally, all *ambitus* was condemned in Presbyters, as well as in Bishops, though we see both from *Chrysostoms* books *de Sacerdotio*, and

*Nazian-*



*Nazianzens Apologetick*, that there was enough of it among both kinds. Yet many there were who resisted the calls given them to Church-Offices with great earnestness, some flying from them to the wilderness, as from a persecution: some cutting off their noses, and other members, that they might be thought unworthy of it; some continued to the end in their refusal; others were not ordained without being baled even by force; many receiving this sacred imposition of hands with trembling and many tears. And indeed were the greatness of the charge more weighed, and the secular advantages less looked at, it is like there might be yet need of some force to draw men to accept of it; whereas all are so forward to rush toward it, blown up with pride, or provoked by covetousness.

We saw already how averse *Nazianzen* was from entering in sacred Orders: but no less memorable is the History of *Chrysostome*, who (with his friend *Basil*) having engaged in a Monastick life, was struck with fear when a rumor rose that they were both to be ordained Presbyters. (And by the way observe, that he calls it τὸ ἐπισκοπῆς ἀξίωμα.) But *Chrysostome* was silent, lest the expressing of his aversion should have deterred *Basil*; and this his silence was judged by *Basil* a consent, and so proved one of his chief



chief inducements to accept of Orders. But when the day came wherein *Chrysoftome* knew that the Bishops designed to ordain them, he withdrew privately, so that he could not be found; yet the Bishops upon another pretence, carryed *Basil* to the Church, and there ordained him, much against his mind.

But when he first met with his friend *Chrysoftome*, he melted down in tears, challenging him severely for his withdrawing from him; whereof *Chrysoftome* gives his Apology at large in these six excellent Books of his *de Sacerdotio*; wherein by way of Dialogue betwixt him and his friend, he layeth out the great dignity and weight of that charge, chiefly in the third Book, where he shews, *That a Priest should be like one of the Angels of G O D, cap. 4.* And he blames these elections that were rashly made, *cap. 10.* upon which he charges most of the disorders that were then in the Church. And *cap. 11.* he confesseth how guilty himself was of that unlawful *ambitus* for Church employment; which being yet unmortified in him, did frighten him from entering in holy Orders. *Cap. 14.* he saith, *Episcopum convenit studio acris & perpetuâ vita continentia tanquam adamantinis armis obseptum esse.* In the fourth Book he speaks of the great caution was to be used in Elections and Ordinations, complaining that in these, *Regard was rather had*



to riches and honor, then true worth. Through the fifth Book he shows the great evil and hazard of popular applause, and the sin of being much pleased with it. And lib. 6. cap. 2. he hath that excellent saying, *That the soul of the Priest should be purer than the very beams of the Sun themselves.* Καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀστέρων αὐτῶν καθαρότερον τὸ ἵπσι τῇ ψυχῇ εἶναι δεῖ. And cap. 12. he accuses himself of his vain desires and other faults, whence it was that he had so great a horror of attempting at that for which he knew himself so unworthy: preoccupying that objection, that a man in that is to submit to the judgement of others, by the examples of one who hath no skil in Physick, and knowing himself ignorant, is not to administer Physick, though all the world should desire him to undertake a cure, declaring their opinion and confidence of his skill: for if upon another mans opinion of his skil he should offer to medle in it, and give Physick, he might as well kill as cure. So neither one unacquainted in military affaires, was to undertake the leading of an army, knowing his own unfitness, though never so much solicited to it: whence he subsumes more strongly, that none should undertake the leading of souls, as long as he knew his own unfitness, were the importunities and solicitations of others never so many. And so far of the qualifications of those



those who were to be ordained Presbyters.

Their election hath been touched already, for it went the same way with the elections of Bishops, and so was partly popular, at least was to be ratified by the approbation, and consent of the people. *Possidius in vita Augustini*, tells how he was chosen a Presbyter by the people.

We have the Ordination of the Presbyters set down thus, *Conc. Carth. 4. Canon 3. Presbyter quum ordinatur, Episcopo eum benedicente, & manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes Presbyteri, qui presentes sunt, manus suas juxta manum Episcopi super caput illius teneant.* *Dionysius the Areopagite* in the fore cited place tells, That the Presbyter whom he calls *isgus*, was ordained in the same form that a Bishop was ordained, save only that the Gospel was not laid on his head. From which simplicity of the primitive formes, we may see, how far they were from all these superstitious fopperies now used in the *Romish Church* in ordination. And so much concerning Presbyters.

*Deacons* are next to be treated of. The original of them is by the general current of the Ancients taken from the *Levites* under the Temple, and therefore in not a few of the ancient Councils, they go under that designation. But as was formerly observed, it is more probable, that the Christian Church took its immediat model from



from the Synagogue, though that might have been taken from the Temple. Now in the Synagogue, as there was a Bishop and Presbyters, so there were also Deacons called *Parnasin*. There were three of them in each Synagogue, two were to gather the collections, and all the three together did distribute them.

The first origine of them in the Christian Church is set down, *Acts 6.* where their primitive institution shews, that their first design was for looking to the necessities of the poor, who had been neglected in the dayly distribution of the charity, and there they are called *διακονοι*. It is true, that term *Luke 4. 20.* is used in another sense, for there the *Minister of the Synagogue*, to whom CHRIST delivered the book, could be no other, then their *Chazan* or Bishop, whose office it was to call out any to read the Law in the Synagogue. But since all Church-Office is for service, and not for domination, Christ himself not coming to be ministered unto, but to minister, it is no wonder, if that term should then have been promiscuously used. We also find *S. Paul* applying to himself (*1. Cor. 4. 2.* a term equivalent to this,) But though the primitive institution of Deacons import only their looking to the necessities of the poor; yet from the *Levites* ministering to the Priest in the sacrifices, it came to be generally received and used, that



that Deacons should serve the Bishops and Presbyters in the administration of the Sacraments.

The institution of them doth also discover, that they were persons to be separated for that holy service, and consecrated for it by an imposition of hands; and so were to be no more secular, but Ecclesiastical persons: and the usual practice of the Church was to account that office a step, degree and probation, in order to ones being made a Presbyter. And therefore our mungrel *Lay Deacons* differ vastly, both from the first institution of the Scripture, and current of all Antiquity.

The *Creopague* gives the account of their ordinations thus: *That the Deacon being brought to the Bishop, kneeled down on one knee, and so received imposition of hands.* The fourth Canon of the fourth Council of Carthage is: *Diaconus quum ordinatur, solus Episcopus, qui eum benedicit, manum super caput illius ponat; quia non ad Sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecratur.*

As for their Election, at the first institution they were chosen by the whole body of the people, so *Acts 6*. And though the people were barred their suffrage in the choyce of other Church-Officers, yet there might be good reason why they should still choose the Deacons, their Office being almost wholly temporal, to receive



receive and distribute the peoples alms. But whatever right people might pretend to in this, it will never be proved that by divine right, the people should choose those who had the charge of their souls. For reason would infer, that none could make a choice, who were not able to give a judgement of the qualifications, and worth of a Church-man, that being peculiar to the Clergy. And hence it is that more than a consent cannot be justly pretended to by the people. But after all this, if this place prove any thing, it will prove in favors of the whole body of the people, and not of a few selected *Lay-Elders*.

All the Deacons were in their degree and order, inferior to Presbyters, which will appear from these Canons of the 4. Council of Carthage, Canon 37. *The Deacon is declared to be the Minister of the Presbyter, as well as of the Bishop.* Canon 39. *He might sit in the presence of a Presbyter, if desired by him.* Canon 40. *In conventu Presbyterorum Diaconus interrogatus, loquatur;* so that he might not speak, except desired. It is therefore a disorder in Church-Discipline, that the Arch-Deacon should not only be a Presbyter, but also exercise Jurisdiction over Presbyters. And therefore *Petrus Blesensis, Epist. 123.* hath well observed, *how turbato ordine dignitatis, Archidiaconi hodie Sacerdotibus praeminent, & in eos vim ac potestatem suae Jurisdictionis exercent.*



*Jerome* is the first that makes mention of these Archdeacons, telling how the Deacons did choose one of their number to be over them, *quem Archidiaconum vocabant*: and in the same epistle to *Evagrius*, he severely inveighs against those Deacons, who pretend to an equality with, or preference over Presbyters, saying: *Quid patitur mensarum & viduarum Minister, ut supra eos tumidus sese efferat, ad quorum preces corpus sanguisque Christi conficitur.*

Because of the first number, *Seven*, the custom was to have but seven Deacons in a City were it never so great: so it was decreed in the Council of *Neocesarea* 14. Canon. Their office was chiefly to look to the poor, and to serve in the administration of the Sacraments. *Justin Martyr* in the end of his second *Apologie* tells, That the *Eucharist* was sent by the Deacons to such as were absent. *Cyprian lib. 3. epist. 15.* reckons it as a part of the Deacons Office to wait upon the Martyrs, & *epist. 17.* of that same book, he tells, That where there was no Presbyter, *urgere exitus coeperit.* The Deacon might receive the *Exhomologesis* of penitents; and absolve them by imposition of hands. *Optatus lib. 2.* calls them the defenders of the holy table, telling how the *Donatists* had broken through the roof of a Church, and had killed and wounded some of the Deacons, who preserved the holy Elements from their sacrilegious attempt.

The



The Deacons distributed the Eucharist, & some time they did give it to the Presbyters, but that was forbidden by the 18. Can. of the Council of Nice. Yet in the fourth Council of Carthage, Can. 38. *Diaconus, presente Presbytero, Eucharistiam corporis Christi populo sine necessitas cogat, iussus eroget.* Cyril of Jerusalem in his 17. Catechism, counts the Deacon the Minister of Baptism, as well as the Bishop or Presbyter. And certain it is, that generally Baptism was administered by the Deacons, as well as by the Presbyters.

Some parts of the publick Worship were also discharged by the Deacons. *Chrysostom hom. 14. ad Rom.* tells, that the Deacons offered prayers for the people; and *hom. 17. ad Heb.* he tells, That the Deacons stood in a high place at the administration of the Eucharist, and calling with a terrible voice, as Heralds, invited some, and rejected others from these holy mysteries. And thus far I have given an account of the sense which the Ancients had of the offices of Bishop, Presbyter, and Deacon, which three were the only ones they accounted sacred and divine. And this held good even at the time, that the *Arcopagites* pretended Books were written (I call them pretended, because there is none now so simple as to believe them his) for he reckons the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy to consist in these three degrees.

To this account given of Deacons, I shall add



somewhat of Deaconesses, of whom mention is made, *Rom. 16. 1.* where *Phebe* is called *ἡ διακονος*, the Deaconess of the Church of *Cenchrea*. They are likewise so called in the 15. Canon of *Chalcedon*; but more ordinary in ancient writings *διακονισσαι*. *Jerome* on that place to the *Romans*, speaking of *Phebe*, understands her to have been a Deaconess; and adds, *Etiam nunc in Orientalibus Diaconissa mulieres in suo sexu ministrare videntur, in baptismo, sive in ministerio verbi, quia privatim docuisse feminas invenimus sicut Priscillam.* He likewise understood the widows mentioned, *1. Tim. 5.* to be Deaconesses: *Tales eligi voluit Diaconissas quae omnibus essent exemplum vivendi.* *Origen* likewise takes it as undoubted, that *Phebe* had a particular office in the Church of *Cenchrea*: and saith on that place, *Hic locus Apostolica auctoritate docet etiam feminas in ministerio Ecclesiae constitui, in quo officio positam Phaben apud Ecclesiam quae est Cenchrea.* *Chrysostome* likewise understood it to be an office: And saith on that place, *καὶ τὸ ἀξιωματικόν ἐστὶν, διακοναίαν ἔχειν.* If any credit be due to the *Apostolical Constitutions*, they tell us many things of their office, though with a great alloy of much idle stuff. They tell, That no woman might come to a Bishop or Presbyter, except in the company of a Deaconess, *Lib. 2. cap. 16.* And that they were to go to women's houses to instruct them, which had been scandalous for Church-men, *Lib. 3. cap. 15.* They did likewise receive them in Baptism, *Cap. 16.* And kept the gates by which women



women entered into the Church; Lib. 8. cap. 18. So it seems their office was to instruct and teach women. And so S. Paul, Phil. 4. 3. speaks of women who labored with him in the Gospel. And Rom. 16. we find mention not only of Priscilla; but of Triphona, Triphosa and Persis, who labored in the LORD. And it is like their office was also to minister to the necessities of Church-men: and therefore when S. Paul speaks of leading about a sister and a wife, as well as other Apostles, he may be well understood to speak of one of those who might both have supplied his wants, and assisted him in the conversion of women; but for eviting scandal, they were not to be under sixty years of age.

Mention is made of them by Pliny, lib. 10. Epist. 97. who writing to Trajan, of the enquiry he was making of the Christians, saith, *Necessarium credidi ex duabus ancillis quae ministra dicebantur quod esset veri & per tormenta querere.* They were received by an ordination in Tertullian's time: for he speaking of them, saith, (*De castit. cap. 13.*) *Ordinari in Ecclesia solent.* And *ad uxorem, lib. 1. cap. 7. Viduam allegi in ordinationem nisi univiram non concedit.* The 19. Canon of the Council of Nice, reckons the Deaconesses among those that were *ἐκ τῶν κατὰ οἶκον*, but saith that they had no imposition of hands, so that in all things they were reckoned among the Laicks; but hints that they had a particular



habit, calling them τῶν ἐν τῷ ἀγνῶνι ἱερανομή-  
 σῶν. Balsamons Gloss on this is, that the Vir-  
 gins who dedicated themselves to GOD, con-  
 tinued in a Laical habit till they were forty years  
 of age; and were then, if found worthy, ordai-  
 ned Deaconesses, by a particular imposition of  
 hands. To this Zonaras adds, that the Virgins  
 in the twenty-fifth year of their age, got a par-  
 ticular habit from the Bishop. The 74. Canon  
 of Nice, according to the Arabick edition, ap-  
 points the office of the Deaconess to be only the  
 receiving of women in Baptism. Epiph. heres.  
 79. after he hath proved that a woman is not ca-  
 pable of the publick service of the Church, adds,  
 that the order of the Deaconesses was institu-  
 ed out of reverence to that sex, that when the  
 womans body was naked in Baptism, they might  
 not be so seen by the Priest. And with this  
 agrees the 12. Canon of the fourth Council of  
 Carthage: *Widuae vel sanctimoniales quae ad ministerium  
 baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur tam instructae sint ad  
 officium, ut possint apto & sano sermone docere imperitas  
 & rusticae mulieres tempore quo baptizanda sint, qualiter  
 baptizatori interrogata respondeant, & qualiter accepto  
 baptismo vivant.* This is also confirmed by the  
 8. chap. of the 6. Novel, which appoints the age  
 both for Virgins and Widows to be fifty years:  
*Sicque sacram promereri ordinationem.* And their of-  
 fice is defined to be *adorandi ministrare baptismatibus,*



*et alij adesse secretis quæ in venerabilibus ministerijs per eas rite aguntur.* And the rest of that chapter gives diverse other rules concerning them.

The 15. Canon of *Chalcedon*, appoints a Deaconess not to be ordained till she were forty years of age ( it is *χαίροντων ετών* in the Canon ) and it is appointed that it be done after a strict examination ; but that after she was ordained, and continued some time in the ministry, if she gave her self in marriage, she ( as one that had reproached the grace of GOD ) was to be anathematized with her husband. *Zonaras* reconciles this age with the Apostle, that the Apostle speaks of Widows, and this Canon of Virgins, though it be *γυναικῶν* in the Canon. Yet it seems some of these Deaconesses have given scandal in the Church, and perhaps proved like the females among the *Pharisees*, whom the *Rabbins* reckoned among these who destroyed the world : And so we find the Western Church being scandalized at some miscarriages in this Order, they are discharged to be ordained by the first Council of *Orange*, Can. 26. *Diaconissæ omnimodo non ordinandæ, si quæ jam sunt benedictioni quæ populo impenditur, capita submittunt.* And in the beginning of the sixth Century, it seems they gave great scandal ; for Canon 22. Council *Epaun.* they are simply discharged : *Viduarum consecrationem quas Diaconissas vocant ab omni regione nostra penitus*



*abrogamus, solam eis pœnitentia benedictionem si converti  
ambiant imponendo.* And anno 536. *Con. Aurel. 2. Can.*  
*17. Benedictio Diaconatus,* is said to be given to the  
women *contra interdicta Canonum.* And the next  
Canon of that Council is, *Placuit etiam ut nulli post  
modum fœminæ Diaconalis benedictio pro conditionis hujus  
fragilitate credatur.* Yet they are mentioned in the  
Council of *Worms* the year 868. Canon 73. where  
the 15. Canon of *Chalcedon* is wholly insert.  
One scandal we find occasioned by these Dea-  
conesses, was, that they presumed to distribute  
the elements in the Eucharist; which *Gelasius*  
blames in his ninth Epistle written to the Bi-  
shops of *Lucania*, *Quod fœminæ sacris altaribus mini-  
strare ferantur.* And this it seems hath continued  
longer: For we find *Ratherius of Verona*, in the  
tenth Century, appoints in his Synodal Epistle  
(which in the *Tomes of the Councils* is printed  
as a sermon of Pope *Leo the fourths*) *Nulla fœ-  
mina ad altare Domini accedat.* And *Matthæus Blastaris*  
in his *Syntagma*, lib. I. cap. 11. concludes it to be  
unknown what the office of the Deaconesses  
was. Some judged that they ministred to wo-  
men, who being in age received Baptism, it be-  
ing accounted a crime for a man to see a woman  
naked. Others thought that they might enter  
to the Altar, and exercise the office of Deacons,  
who proved this from many things, particularly  
from some words of *Nazianzens* Oration at his  
sisters



sisters funeral, but that was afterwards forbidden διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐμμένων ἀποδείξιν; yet he doubts much the truth of that, it not agreeing with reason, that women who were not suffered publickly to teach, should be admitted to the office of a Deacon, whose duty it was by the ministry of the word, to purifie these who were to be baptized. And after that he gives an account of the form of their Ordination.

Mention likewise is made of them in the Council in Trullo, Canon 14. a Deaconess was not to receive imposition of hands, before she was forty years of age. Which is more expressely appointed in the 40. Canon, where they decree, that though the Apostle made the age 60. yet the Canons had allowed their Ordination at 40. because they found the Church was become firmer in the grace of GOD, and had advanced forward: and by the 48. Canon of that Council, a Bishops wife, when separated from her husband by consent, was to live in a Monastery, & if found worthy might be made a Deaconess. Basil by his 18. Canon allows virgins to be received at the sixteenth or seventeenth year of their age, but by his 24. he reckons it a fault to receive a widow into the order under 60: yet it seems that was not peremptorly observed. For in his 44. Canon he speaks of Deaconesses found in fornication, who might not be allowed to com-



communicat before seven years had been past in penitence. When this order failed in the Greek Church, we know not; but *Balsamon* on the 15. Canon of *Chalcedon* tells, That in his time Deaconesses were no more ordained, and his reason is because no woman was suffered to enter unto the Altar, though (saith he) some women were abusively so called.

As for the inferior degrees of *Subdeacon*, *Acolyth*, &c. as they were only *Juris Ecclesiastici*, so they were not designed for any sacred performance, nor had they any holy character upon them: but were intended as steps for those whom they were training up to sacred employments, and were but like the degrees given in Universities. No mention is made of them in the first two Centuries: *Ignatius* is express that there is no intermedial step betwixt the Laick, and the Deacon, which stile we also meet in all the Fathers before *Cyprians* time.

He, epistle 24. speaks of the *Lectors* and *Subdeacons*, telling how he had ordained *Saturnus* a Lector, and *Optatus* a subdeacon, *quos jam communi consilio Clero proximos feceramus*. And of the *Lectors*, he saith, epist. 34. *Ceterum Presbyterij honorem nos illis designasse sciatis*. And by what follows, it is clear he means of a share in the maintenance of the Church. Epistle 28. he speaks of the *Subdeacons* & *Acolyths*, shewing how they likewise



likewise had a share in the divisions of the offerings made to the Church. Epistle 33. he tells of one *Aurelius*, who had been twice a confessor in the persecution, whom he had ordained a Lector, apologizing that he had done it without the consent of his Clergy and people. *In ordinationibus sollemus vos ante consulere, & voces ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare; sed expectanda non sunt testimonia humana, cum precedant suffragia divina.* And after he hath laid out the merits of the person, he adds, *Placuit tamen ut ab officio Lectionis incipiat, quia & nihil magis congruit, voci qua Dominum gloriosâ predicatione confessa est, quam celebrandis divinis lectionibus personare.* Of the same strain is his following epistle concerning *Celerinus*, who had refused to be ordained a Lector, until he was persuaded to it by a divine revelation in the night. Likewise in his 76. epistle, he makes mention of *Exorcists*: who are also mentioned by *Firmilian* in his epistle, which is reckoned the 75. among *Cyprians*. And at the same time *Cornelius*, the Bishop of Rome, in his epistle (insert by *Eusebius lib. 6. cap. 43.*) wherein he gives account of the Clergy were then at Rome; tells, That there were 46. Presbyters, 7. Deacons, 42. Acolyths, 50. Exorcists, Lectors, and Porters. These inferior Orders we see were then in the Church. And since we have no earlier accounts of them,  
we



we may conclude their rise to have been about this time. A short account will suffice for their several employments, which will be best gathered from the several Canons of the 4. Council of Carthage.

Canon 5. *Subdiaconus quum ordinatur, quia manus impositionem non accipit, patinam de Episcopi manu accipiat vacuum, & calicem vacuum. De manu vero Archidiaconi urceolum cum aqua, & mantile, & manutergiam.* So his Office was to look to the vessels for the Eucharist, and to serve the Deacons in that work.

Canon 6. *Acolythus quum ordinatur ab Episcopo quidem doceatur, qualiter in officio suo agere debeat. Sed ab Archidiacono accipiat ceroferarium cum cereo ut sciat se ad accendenda Ecclesie luminaria mancipari, accipiat & urceolum vacuum, ad suggerendum vinum in Eucharistiam sanguinis Christi.* As for these Cerei, they shal be spoken of upon the next Canon. The work of *Acolythus* was to light the candles, and provide the wine: And from the *ratio nominis*, we may believe their office was particularly to wait upon the Bishop, and follow him.

Canon 8. *Lector quum ordinatur, faciat de illo verbum Episcopus ad plebem, indicans ejus fidem ac vitam, atque ingenium. Posthac spectante plebe tradat ei codicem, de quo lecturus est, dicens ad eum: accipe, & esto lector verbi Dei, habiturus, si fideliter*



liter & iustiter impleveris officium, partem cum eis, qui verbum Dei ministraverunt. And by what hath been already cited out of Cyprian compared with this; it appears, that the Office of the Lector was judged that of the greatest importance of them all.

Canon 9. *Ostiarus quam ordinatur postquam ab Archidiacono instructus fuerit, qualiter in domo Dei debeat conversari, ad suggestionem Archidiaconi, tradat & Episcopus claves Ecclesie de altario, dicens: sit age, quasi redditurus Deo rationem pro his rebus, quae his clavibus recluduntur.*

Canon 10. *Psalmista, ad est, Cantor potest absque scientia Episcopi, sola iussione Presbyteri, officium suscipere cantandi, idicente sibi Presbytero; unde, ut oportere cantas, corde credas, & quod corde credis, leperibus conprobes.* Now the Psalmists were these that were the singers, for it was appointed in the Council of Laodicea, that none might sing in the Church, except such as were of the choir, that is, those of the suggestion, or pulpit.

But because the 7. Canon will afford more matter of question, I have reserved to last. *Exorcista quam ordinatur, accipiat de manu Episcopi libellum, in quo scripti sunt Exorcismi, dicente sibi Episcopo: accipe, & commemora memoria, & habeto potestatem imponendi manum super Energumenum, sive baptizatum, sive Catechumenum.*

But for examining this of the Exorcist, we must



must run a little back. The Jews under the second Temple were much addicted to Magick. In the *Talmud* it is given as a necessary qualification of one that might be of the *Sanhedrin*, that he should be skilled in all Magical doctrines and charms. And in the inner-court of the Temple, called the *Court of Israel*, there was a chamber said to have been built by one *Parva* Magician, by the art of Magick, from whom it was called *Happarva*: And much of what they say of the *Bath-col*, seems to hint that it was an effect of Magick. Many places are also cited out of the *Talmud*, of their *Rabbies* killing one another by that art; and so highly do they extol it, that many of them thought that all miracles were wrought by the exact knowledge of the Cabbalistical arts, and it is well enough known how that abounded among the heathens. *Ulpian* made a law against these Physicians who cured diseases by Exorcisms.

We see our LORD triumphed over the powers of darkness, who were then raging through the world: and that the Oracles were silenced at this time, is confessed by heathens. Neither did this gift of casting out devils, conferred by our LORD on his Disciples, die with them, but remain some ages in the Church. *Tertullian* speaks of it as a gift communicated to all Christians. *De coronâ mil.* he tells, That some



Some souldiers did *exorcismus fugare spiritus malignos*: and *de Idololatria*, cap. 11. *Quo ore Christianus Thūerunt* (this is one that offered incense to Idols) *super templa transibit, fumantes aras despuet, & exsufflabit, quibus ipse prospexit: quā constanti exorcizabit alumnos suos, quibus domum suam cellarium praeſtat.* So that he hath understood this power of exorcizing to have been the effect of every sincere Christians prayer.

Origen in his 35. tract. on *Math.* condemns the form of doing it, by adjuring the Devils, saying, that *CHRIST* hath given us power to command them: *Est enim Judaicum adjurare Dæmonia.*

Cyprian speaks of an Exorcism ordinarily preceeding Baptism; but prefers the vertue of Baptism to that of Exorcism, *Epist. 26. Hodie etiam geritur, ut per Exorcistas voce humanā & potestate divinā flagelletur, & uratur, & torqueatur Diabolus; & cum exire se & dimittere homines. D. E. I. Sape dicat: in eo tamen quod dixerit, fallat. Cum tamen ad aquam soluta erit, &c.* And ad Demetrianum, he saith, *O si audire eos velles, & videra, quando à nobis adjurantur & torquentur spiritalibus flagris, & verborum tormentis, de obsessis corporibus, ejiciuntur; quando ejulantes & gementes voce humanā, & potestate divinā flagella, & verbera sentientes, venturum judicium consentunt.* And much of this nature is to be met with among the primitive Wri-



Writers, which shews that the power of exorcizing was an authority over Devils.

Yet if this had been a formal Office, reason will say it should rather have been among the highest then lowest Orders, the work being so great and miraculous. But from the *Arcopagite*, and others, we are told, that before Baptism there was used a renunciation of the Devil, with a prayer for casting him out: And there is some probability that these called *Exorcists* were only *Catechists*, who had some formulæ, whereby they taught, such as they instructed, to renounce the Devil: and this with the prayer that accompanied it, was called an Exorcism.

*Nazianz. Orat. in Bapt. Ne exorcismi medicinam asperneris, nec ob illius prolixitatem animo concidas, nam velut lapis quidam Lydius est, ad quem exploratur, quam sincero quisque pectore ad baptismum accedat.*

*Cyrl of Jerusalem, Prefat. in Catech. Festinans pedes tui ad catecheses audiendas, exorcismos studiose suscipe, etiam si exorcizatus & inspiratus jam sis, salubris enim est tibi res ista.* The Council of *Laodicea*, Can. 28. discharged all to exorcize either in Churches or houses, except these appointed for it by the Bishops. And by the tenth Canon of *Antioch*, the Rural Bishops are warranted to constitute *Exorcists*, from which we see they could not esteem that a wonder working office. And

Balsa-



Balsamon in his *Sholion*, makes them one with the Catechists, ἐφοριστὰς ἢ τοὶ κατηχητὰς, and on the Canon of *Laodicea*, ἐφορίζειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατηχεῖν ἐπίσκοπος. And towards the end of his Gloss on that Canon, he saith, That an Exorcist though appointed by the Chorepiscopus, and not by the Bishop, καλῶς κατηχήσῃ. And *Beverigius* cites *Harmenopolus* to the same purpose on the tenth Canon of *Antioch*. From these evidences it is most probable to think, that the Exorcists at first were nothing but Catechists; but afterwards, as all things do in any tract of time degenerate, they became corrupt, beyond perhaps either these of the Jews or the Gentils; so that the Books of Exorcismes now in the Roman Church, are so full of Bombast terms, and odd receipts, that they are a stain to the Christian Church.

And it is the most preposterous thing can be imagined, that what was given in the New Testament for the greatest confirmation of the Christian faith, should be made a constant Office, and put in so mean hands. And to this I need not add the base arts and cheats discovered among that sort of people.

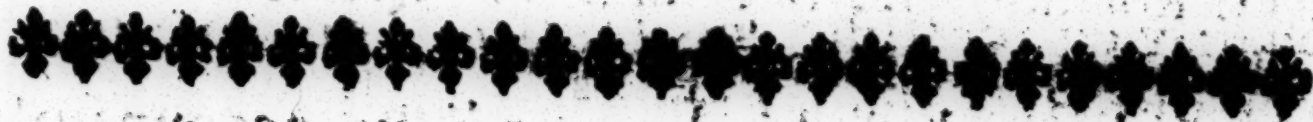
I shal conclude this long tedious account of the sense the Ancient Church had of the several Officers in it, with some words of *Tertullian*, which I shal barely set down, without any



descant on them, though they have occasioned much perplexity to diverse good Antiquaries. Tertullian in exhortatione ad uxorem, cap. 7. saith: *Nonne & laici Sacerdotes sumus? Scriptum est regnum quoque nos & Sacerdotes DEO & Patri suo fecit. Differentiam inter Ordinem & plebem constituit Ecclesiae auctoritas, & honor per Ordinis confessum sanctificatus. Ideo ubi Ecclesiastici ordinis non est confessus, & offers, & tingis & Sacerdos es tibi solus, sed ubi tres sunt, Ecclesia est, licet laici.* But others read these words differently, their copies having them thus: *Sanctificatus à DEO. Ubi Ecclesiastici ordinis est confessus, & offert, & tingit, Sacerdos qui est ibi solus: sed ubi tres, Ecclesia est, licet laici.*



F I N I S.







# POLYHISTOR

TO

BASILIOS.

**Y**OUR desire, and my own promise, have engaged me to send you the enclosed Papers: For the trouble the reading them may give you, my Apology lyes in my obedience; and yet I have contracted things as much as I could, and perhaps have exceeded in my abridging: for had I let loose my pen in a descant on every particular, these few sheets had swelled to a Volume. And my design was not to act the Critick, but to be a faithful Historian. These gleanings were intended partly for my own use, and partly for the direction of some under my charge in the study of Antiquity; and were written some years ago, when I had no thoughts of making them more publick, then by giving a few transcripts of them. But now I leave the midwifry of them to you, that you may either stifle this Embrio, or give it a freer air to breath in. I have here only given you what related to the constitution and modelling of Churches, referring to my Observations on other Canons, matters that come to be treated



more properly upon their texts, as of the administration of all the parts of the Pastoral charge, of all their forms in Worship, and Church-Discipline, of their zeal against heresies and schisms, together with the methods used for reclaiming them; and of the poverty, simplicity, abstraction from secular affairs, and sublime sanctity of the primitive Bishops and Presbyters. These with many other particulars, if well examined, as they will make the work swell to a huge bulk, so they will bring pleasure, as well advantage, to such as desire a better acquaintance with the state of the Church of GOD in her best times; but what through the entanglements of affairs, and other avocations, what through their want of Books, are not able to engage in so laborious an enquiry by searching the fountains themselves.

I assure you, I have not gone upon trust, having taken my Observations from the writings themselves, that I have vouched for my warrants. I once intended to have cited all the testimonies I brought in *English*; and so to have avoided the pedantry of a *Babylonish Dialect*, as the *French* begin now to write. But observing that the foul play many have committed, hath put a jealousy in most Readers of these citations, where the Authors words are not quoted, I choosed rather to hazard on the censure of being a Pedant, than of an unfaithful wrester in my



my translations. Only to save the writer the labor of writing much *Greek*, which I found not acceptable, I do often cite the *Latin* translation of the *Greek Authors*. I shal only add, that I was causing write out these Papers for you, there came to my hands one of the best Works this age hath seen, *Bezae Cantabrigiae Synopses Canonum*. I quickly looked over these learned Volumes, that I might give these sheets such improvements as could be borrowed from them, which indeed were not inconsiderable.

I detain you too long, but shal importune you no more. I leave this to your censure, which I know to be severely critical in all such matters. Your judgement being the wonder of all who know you, especially who consider how little your leisure allows you, to look unto things so far without the Orb you move in: though nothing be without the vast circle of your comprehensive understanding, if you let loose these Papers to a more publick view, let this Paper accompany them, which may some way express the zeal of your faithfullest servant, who humbly bids you *Adieu*.









